An Historicall

RELATION

OF THE

Military Government of

GLOUCESTER:

From the beginning of the Civill Warre Betweene KING and PARLIAMENT To the removall of Colonell MASSIE from that Government to the Command of the Westerne Forces.

By *John Corbet* Preacher of Gods Word.

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To the Right Worſhipfull, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councell, with the Purgeſſes of the City of GLOUCESTER.

Gentlemen,

Ilent and calme times, and an equall ſtream of ſecular Affairs are more acceptable to men of the preſent age, becauſe they are times of injoyment; whereas the greater Changes and Confuſions of the world do more delight Poſterity, or ſuch as ſurvive the trouble of thoſe Changes. For tis a pleaſure to behold at ſuch a diſtance the Riſings and Falls of Nations and their Governments, as to ſee the raging Sea from the ſecure Land. And it doth not ſeldome come to paſſe that an univerſall Concuſſion, and the ſhaking of the pillars of the earth, doth caſt it into better frame and ſettle it on a firme Baſis: So that the men of the former Age doe labour,

and thoſe of the later enter into their labours. Even ſo, tis the Calamity of theſe Dayes to be engaged in ſuch a Warre and the wofull attendants thereof; yet their felicity to be engaged for the higheſt intereſts in this life, which will exalt them, whatſoever the ſucceſſe be; and if proſperous, will make the faithfull in the land a perpetuall Excellency, and the joy of many Generations. The Action of theſe times tranſcends the Barons Warres, and thoſe tedious diſcords betweene the Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, in as much as it is undertaken upon higher Principles, and carried on to a nobler end, and effects more univerſall. And in this you have acted not the leaſt part for a particular Government to your owne ſafety and honour, and by a generall acknowledgement not a little to the preſervation of the whole Kingdome. Wherefore out of abundant reſpect to my deare native place, having collected ſome Memorials of its fidelity and Induſtry, I humbly preſent them to your view, who were witneſſes of, and bore a part in thoſe performances. I remember my own thoughts when we were in the height of Danger, and ready to fall

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into the depth of Miſery, That I did ſeeme to refreſh my ſelfe in the conceipt of the future joyous remembrance thereof, when we ſhould out live thoſe extremities. And you alſo muſt needs be abundantly ſatisfied in reminding thoſe manifold hazards and exegencies which you by patience and perſeverance have in good meaſure overcome. For which cauſe this Hiſtoricall Relation, though it tenders it ſelfe to the review of all ſerious men, yet unto yours chiefly, that your ioy might be yet more full. Neither ought we to be ſo iniurious to Divine Providence, as to bury or keep ſecret the influence and working thereof upon the endeavours of a willing people. Hitherto you have runne well, nothing remaines but perſeverance, that the concluding part may be bleſſed and honourable. Let your City ever flouriſh and proſper under the protection of the Higheſt.

Gentlemen,

Your humbly devoted ſervant,

JOHN CORBET.

LEges Historiæ civilis aperte satis innuit Franciscus Verulamius *notando plurima quæ eam circumstant vitia. Dum plerique narrationes quasdam inopes & plebeias conscribant; alii particulares relationes, & Commentariolos opera Festinata, & textu inæquali consariant; alii capita tantum Rerum gestarum percurrant; alii contrà minima quæque & ad summas actionum nihil facientia persequantur: Nonnulli, nimiâ erga ingenia propria indulgentia plurima audaciter confingant: Ast alii non tam ingeniorum suorum, quam Affectuum imaginem rebus imprimant & addant, partium suarum memores, rerum parum fideles Testes; Quidam politica in quibus sibi complacent, ubique inculcent, & diverticula ad ostentationem quærendo narrationem rerum nimis leviter interrumpant: alii in orationum & concionum aut etiam Actorum ipsorum prolixitate parum cum judicio nimii sunt.*

Hæc omnia cautè vitantur in Historia legitima & numeris suis absoluta.

De Augment: Scient. l. 2. c. 5.

Errata.

PAge 4. l. 37. r. *tracke.* p. 6. l. 27. r. *in themselves.* p. 8. l. 4. r. *tender.* p. 50. l. 17. del. *and the river chained.* p. 81. l. 6. r *Subtile.* p. ib. l. 10. r. *imaginary.* p. 82. l. 32. r. *quartered.* p. 85. l. 11. r. *Winnier hill.* p. 86. l. 22. r. *Ledbury.* p. 119. l. 23. r. *yeelded to the drawing.* p. 220. l. 13. r. *role.* p. 121. l. 21. r. *Lidney.* p. 123. l. 9. r *Glouceſter.* Other faults leſſe materiall, let the courteous Reader be pleaſed to correct.

AN
Historicall Relation
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GLOUCESTER.

Midſt the variety of action in the preſent Age, the courſe of this Military Government was conceived not unworthy to be knowne unto more than them that acted, or beheld at a nearer diſtance; onely the care of a true and meete Repreſentation held his thoughts, who hath now brought it to the publick light, and hazarded the cenſure of theſe knowing times. If I have fallen below the Story, I ſhall neither begg acceptance nor crave pardon for a deliberate errour; nevertheleſſe to give an accompt of the deſigne is no more then that due which all may expect and challenge: onely the Princes of Learnings Empire are authentick.

tick in the very name, and require an uncontrolled paſſe without a Preface to usher them: but whoſoever owes reſpect and duty to the world, his obſervance will plead for the neceſſity of a ſmall introduction.

The Relation therefore brings to remembrance the affaires of a particular Command, which as yet hath not been the meaneſt part of the preſent warfare, the event whereof all Chriſtendome may expect with admiration and horrour; 'tis one branch of the Hiſtory of theſe times, which happily may be viewed in ſeverall parcells better then in one entire body: for ſuch a Chronicle, if it ſhall duely expreſſe the riſe and progreſſe of things, muſt needs be perplexed with multiplicity of interwoven Diſcourſes, when three Kingdomes are ingaged, and no part in either of them ſtand free as Spectators onely of the common calamity; that the worke muſt either ſwell into a bulke miſhapen and burdenſome, or lye too narrow to comprize the ſeverall parts in their juſt and perfect meaſures; but many ſingle Narrations doe more exactly delineate, give the trueſt colours, and put upon things the moſt unſuſpected viſage. Generall Hiſtories doe ſeldome approach the fountaine of action, and their gloſſe though beautifull, yet more dull cannot hold forth that native grace and luſtre. Whereas there appeare in particular branches thoſe lively ſparklings and more ſecret motions of life and heate, which ſtrike upon that fancy and intellect that can behold and reach them; beſides, they that gather up ſo many divided Plots (as are now acted) into one modell, are wont to endeavour after a ſmoother path, a greater harmony, and more exact ſymmetry of parts; whereas the face of things is conſcious of more diſproportion, ſometimes a confuſion of buſineſſe, and the ſeverall ſcenes may eaſily ſwerve from the originall plot; but the divided parts drawne in ſeverall are not ſo contrained and rackt, but come naked and more ſimple, and ſhew that the reaſon of the ſame Counſells is one in the Senate or Conclave; another in the field, diſcovers the failing or the croſſe-working of contrivances, how in the midſt of action the maine Land-markes are waved, and many grand projects never reach their period. Out of all which the comparing faculty

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of a judicious obſerver may collect the miſ-guidance or defects of Policy; and ſee how the pearcing ſubtilties of wit are broken and ſhattered by the courſe of things more knotty, rude, and and violent; and this is the life of Hiſtory, that ought to declare the delinquency of State as well as its accompliſhment and perfection.

If the materialls of the Worke be queſtioned whether fit to be drawne up into one regular and compacted whole, and to make a ſtanding monument, we alſo know that nothing in this kinde is to be thruſt upon the world, ſince Hiſtory doth intend to gratifie the future times with the remembrance of thoſe things onely which prudent men deſire, and claime from ſuch as pretend an intereſt and portion in the treaſures of knowledge; it beares therefore before it nothing more then the thing it ſelfe gives forth, and which may finde acceptance with ſeverer wits; for not onely the remarkable changes of the Univerſe, the grand periods of Kingdomes and Common-wealths, the chiefe and turning points of State-affaires, but particular Plat-formes, lives, examples, and emergent occaſions alſo, are to be obſerved and laid up for poſterity. More yet, thoſe particularities, and minute paſſages are they that come home to mens buſineſſe, approach their experience, and guide their courſe; but things more grand and lofty ſeeme to be turned upon the wheeles of Providence; too high for the imitation of men. The worke of a politick or martiall man is to fixe his deſigne, and then to expect the accompliſhment, not by one ſudden or great atchievement, but by a ſeries of many particles, and through an infinite variety of emergent occaſions, and at laſt the maine turning point falls in by the over-ruling power of the Univerſall cauſe; ſuch are properly the workes of men into which they ought to enquire and ſearch. Beſides, the chiefe skill is not the generall knowledge of the maine undertaking, but a certaine dexterity in meeting every point, in working through many mazes and windings, ſince ſundry paſſages of ſmall purport intervene to diſturbe or promove it. Experience tells, that many Univerſall Schollars are the moſt

uncouth persons to Civill imployment, which so happens, because they study Bookes more then the course of businesse, in which they gaze upon high objects, and binde themselves to the riged observance of received Canons; that if they venture amongst men, upon a slight accident unexpected, they sticke in the mire or runne a wrong course. We dislike not the taking up of well tryed Principles, onely by examples of all sorts must we learne to except and distinguish, and by consequence to use or abate the rigour of Politicall Maximes: neither doth it seldome come to passe that inferiour things over-rule, and a circumstance may be predominant. From such a low bottome and meane beginning are great things raised, and as their verticle point come in an instant, so may they be turned upon a weake and slender hinge; yet we meane not those circumstances that are the inseparable attendants of every naturall action, but onely such as are worthy, and have a morall influence; all which shun their understandings who respect onely great, and excelse objects, which peradventure may flourish with ostentation and pompe, but if applyed uuto the life of man bring forth an effect like the birth of the Mountaines. And here we tender a naked Comentary and true rehearsall of those things as deserve not wholly to be forgotten; if it be not full of rare changes which may grace the composure, and affect the Reader; yet doth it give the full draught of a Martiall command, and a true Copy of the things it intends to expresse: it hath this advantage it common with others of the like nature, that it can come forth to the censure of the present Age without the guilt and shame of mistakes or flatteries. Authors more Universall could never gaine to be stiled the Writers of unquestionable verities, for they see at a greater distance, and by a more obscure and duskey light: certainly a nearer approach, and some kind of interest is required of him that desires to shew not onely some tarcke and foot-steps, but the expresse image of things, for whatsoever passes from hand to hand

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though upon the moſt undubitable Authority, proves at the beſt but the image of a Picture : for the beſt wit that takes things though upon the ſureſt truſt, muſt needs fall ſhort of the Copy by which he writes, if not in beauty, yet in the truth and life thereof. The onely danger in ſuch as are intreſſed is, leaſt they be partiall to their own ſide, or make the Diſcourſe more lofty then the Stage can reach ; which miſchiefe the deliberate thoughts of a ſerious man can prevent, and tell him that the unvayling of the defects, and misfortunes of his owne party doth evince the ſincerity of the Relation, and graceth it with more variety, then what the continuall ſtreame of the hight of gallantry and ſucceſſe can yeeld; and which is moſt of all, doth demonſtrate that at ſome times the deſigne was laid upon the principles of reaſon, and proſecuted with induſtry, whereas continuall victory is attributed to a certaine hidden felicity, and the bounty of providence. Affection therefore receives a check from that man who is more true to his owne faction and ends, then to tranſgreſſe againſt the honour of that worke he takes in hand.

As for this Military Government, the power hereof hath reſted in one Command, and therefore doth more eaſily cloſe into a ſingle frame, yet not in a ſmooth and equall ſtraine, but diſtinguiſhed by many riſes and falls : 'tis a branch almoſt divided from the maine ſtocke, and hath been put to live and act of it ſelfe : nevertheleſſe a branch ſtill, and enlivened by the Authority of the Kingdomes ſoveraigne power, from which it receives an influence both of ſupport and guidance : but its diſtance from the fountaine of power had derived upon the Truſtee a more free command, and made way for the perfect worke of a ſouldier both counſell and action, which is the ſureſt way to make ſuch commands both active and proſperous.

The ſeate hereof lyes in the heart of the enemies Country, like a forlorn hope, and is maintained not ſo much for its owne ſake, or that ſo much ground might lye under a Parliamen

ment Power, but to divide the Kings Aſſociation, to ſtop his Recrutes, to ſcatter his Forces, and continually to diſtract the deſignes of that Army. Experience is witneſſe of how great concernment it hath been to the ſafety of the Commonwealth, not one place in the Kingdome of *England* hath ſo much exhauſted the enemies Army, nor hath the like advantage to ruine it: It can paine them at the heart, 'tis a fire kindled in their bowels, that might eate out their ſtrength, had it been the felicity of the State to have ſent hither a part of thoſe great ſupplies, which have been elſe-where expended, and done little towards the concluſion of the great worke.

If this Collection ſhall preſent any thing that comes home to a civill life, or the imployment of a Souldier, if it ſhall bring to minde acceptable ſervices, and cauſe the people to remember the day of ſmall things, with the power of active and faithfull endeavours, that obſerve and follow the Divine Providence, I ſhall not faile of my end: and I know that this my adventure is no more then what the action doth deſerve, and the world may challenge.

THe ingagemenr of the City of *Glouceſter* in this common Cauſe of Religion and Liberty, firſt began when the Houſes of Parliament declared to the Kingdome their reſolution of a defenſive War: neither were its principall and active men drawne in by inferiour and accidentall motives, but quickened by the ſame Principles in the maine, that did enliven and actuate the Supreme Court, expreſſing themſelves the very motions of a Parliamentary ſpirit; by an abſolute and greedy compliance with every act that breathed towards the perfect health of the State, the ſeverall Remonſtrances of both Houſes were received with all due reſpect, whereas no Declaration ſent from the other Party, found the courteſie of a formall

formall entertainment. It hath beene the honour of that Civill Government, never to be guilty of the leaſt act of diſſervice againſt that Cauſe which their hearts wiſh might prevaile and proſper. Therefore when the fire kindled and fomented by Jeſuited Papiſts and their adherents, was blowne up into a flame, and the heads of two Parties appeared within this Realme, the City of *Glouceſter* determined not to ſtand Neutrall in action, but to adhere unto one party, with which they reſolved to ſtand or fall, neceſſity requiring no leſſe, which affection improves into vertue. The acknowledgement of its owne advantage in ſcituation and ſtrength importuned a more timely Declaration, leaſt by it ſelfe neglected, it ſhould be ſeized by the Enemy, whoſe eye was upon it, and ſo caſt into perpetuall bondage. Alſo the greateſt part of the Country conſented and reſolved to maintaine their Birth-rights in the defence of the Priviledges and Power of Parliament, againſt all invaſions of uſurpation and tyranny.

Duriug the Kings preparaetions in the North, they attempted (according to the ſlendernes of al beginnings) to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, and exſpected the inſtructions of Parliament. And whereas the Ordinance of *Militia* was the firſt pretended ground of difference betweene his Majeſty and the Houſes, (they deſiring ſuch Officers iu whom the State might confide, and the King refuſing to deprive them that by himſelfe were intruſted) when the rent was once made, a greater neceſſity impleaded the execution of that Ordinance: Whereupon the Lord *Say* was by Order of Parliament appointed Lord Lieutenant: A Commiſſion was likewiſe granted unto divers Gentlemen for Deputy Lieutenants, many whereof drew back and ſhunned the imployment, that the power for the moſt part reſted in the Members of the Houſe of Commons for this County, by whoſe countenance many Companies of Volunteers were raiſed, then called the *Militia* Bands, and led by ſuch Captaines as the Embryo of the Warre could afford. But the firſt undertaking was more jocund then the progreſſe; as oft times it comes to paſſe, that a Military pompe and ap-

pearance of bravery doth affect and raiſe up many feeble ſpirits, who quickly lye flat when they begin to feele the ſtubborneſſe and cruelty of Warre.

The Commiſſion of *Array* did not adventure to render it ſelfe to the people; it was about to be offered to their liking at *Cirenceſter*, by the Lord *Chando's* and ſome other diſaffected Gentlemen, but was ſtifled in the birth, and cruſht by the rude hand of the multitude before it ſaw the light; the chiefe Abetter thereof was like to ſuffer violence by the meaneſt of the people, whoſe fury conſtrained him to promiſe, and give under his hand, that he would never more deale in the buſineſſe. But when they ſaw that this Lord had eſcaped their hands by a ſecret conveyance, they were the more enraged, and waxed cruell againſt his Accoutrements and Furniture, and whatſoevtr of his was left behind, delighting in a contumelious revenge and ruſtick triumph. Such were the effects of that fury that tooke hold on the ignoble multitude, in whom not alwaies the deepe ſenſe of their owne intereſts doth provoke this extaſie of paſſion, but peradventure a ſlighter accident and unexpected turning of the fancy ſets them in a hurry, when their inſolency becomes intollerable, and they glory to vent their humours, by reaſon of an uſuall reſtraint and ſubjection. Nevertheleſſe they have produced good effects, and oft times a more undeſcerned guidance of ſuperiour Agents turnes them to the terrour of the Enemy, and an unexplecable ſelfe-ingagement upon the common people, which prudent men promote and maintaine, yet no farther then themſelves can over-rule and moderate. Hereupon the full ſtreame of the Country runnes for the Ordinance of the *Militia*, and againſt the Kings Declarations and Commiſſion of Array. But ſince we are now upon the beginning of action, it will not be from the matter to declare the grounds of that affection which the Country did expreſſe, and were common unto them with many parts of the Kingdome, that were devoted to the ſame Cauſe, but might appeare in a greater degree, and have a clearer evidence in the preſent example. Moſt men therefore did undoubtedly

doubtedly foreſee greater hopes of liberty from the Parliament then the Kings Party; in ſo much that there appeared in all the States adhearents an inbred propenſity to freedome, but a deſire of vaſt Dominion, Dignity, revenge, or rapine in them that tooke to the contrary Faction; by which this Country did ſeeme well diſpoſed to comply with the Parliaments grand Deſigne: for there was no exceſſive number of powerfull Gentry, who for the moſt part care not to render themſelves the ſlaves of Princes, that they alſo might rule over their Neighbours as Vaſſalls: But the Inhabitants conſiſted chiefly of Yeomen, Farmers, petty Free-holders, and ſuch as uſe Manufactures that enrich the Country, and paſſe through the hands of a multitude, a generation of men truely laborious, jealous of their Properties, whoſe principall ayme is Liberty and Plenty, and whilſt in an equall ranke with their Neighbours they deſire onely not to be oppreſſed, and account themſelves extreamely bound to the world, if they may keepe their owne; ſuch therefore continually thwart the intentions of tyrannie unto which they onely are moulded, who deteſting a cloſe, hardy, and induſtrious way of living doe eate their bread in the ſweat of other men, and neglecting a ſecure eſtate, rejoyce rather in the height of fortune though inconſtant and dangerous. Such is the predominant humour of Gentlemen in a corrupted age. Beſides, the Country-man had of his owne, and did not live by the breath of his great Land lord; neither were the poore and needy at the will of the Gentry, but obſerved thoſe men by whom thoſe Manufactures were maintained that kept them alive. By which meanes it came to paſſe that neither they of the middle ranke, nor the needy were devoted to the examples of the Gentlemen who turned back, betrayed their truſt (and are alwaies more apt to be corrupted, or miſtaken in judging of the common intereſt) but had learned to reverence their Liberties, and to acknowledge their native happineſſe.

But ſome higher cauſe had a greater influence on the endea-

endeavours of many for a well-bounded Freedome, and regular Priviledges; a knowledge of things pertaining to Divine Worship, according to the maine Principles of the Christian profession. Which Religion is not according to the will of man but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternall Truth, and doth indispensably binde every soule to one Law perpetuall and constant. This therefore doth strongly implead the necessity of externall priviledges in her Professors, and though it doth not destroy the Kingdomes of the World, nor usurpe a greater liberty then humane Lawes will easily grant, yet it will not give away its native right; and it hath moreover in its nature an irreconcileable emnity against Arbitrary Government, and will worke its selfe out of bondage when the felicity of the times shall give power and a lawfull call. And in this kinde of knowledge this City and County was more happy then many other parts of the Kingdome by meanes of a practicall Ministry, which hath not onely its powerfull working in Divine things, but doth also inable vulgar capacities more fitly to apply themselves to such things as cenverne the life of a morall man; and although each Person thus informed reacheth not the depth of the reason, yet he can comprehend the truth thereof, and jealousie makes him the more quick-sighted. Thus have we found that the common people addicted to the Kings service have come out of blinde *Wales*, and other dark corners of the Land; but the more knowing are apt to contradict and question, and will not easily be brought to the bent. For this cause the ambition of the times hath endeavoured the undermining of true Religion, to promote a blind and irrationall worship, that might bring forth an ignorant and slavish generation of men, which kinde of bondage the meaneſt person that performes a reasonable service cannot but resent and feare.

Yet something there was that might debase and infeeble their spirits (the plague and mischiefe of the whole Realme) a grosse ignorance, and supine neglect of Military Discipline, there

there being no ground for the ſtudy and exerciſe of Armes that might keepe the body of the State in health and vigour. Nor is it unlikely that extreame vaſſalage was the end of that long ſluggiſh Peace, when the Nation could not have been more happy, then in ſome juſt and honourable warre with forraigne parts, though now none more miſerable by reaſon of theſe civill broyles, that teare the bowels and eate up the ſtrength of the Kingdome. 'Tis no ſhame in the progreſſe of time to looke backe upon the beginnings of action. The Trained Bands accounted the maine ſupport of the Realme, and Bulworks againſt unexpected invaſions, were effeminate in courage and uncapable of Diſcipline, becauſe their whole courſe of life was alienated from warlike imployment, in ſo much that young and active ſpirits were more perfect by the experience of two daies ſervice. Wherefore theſe men might eaſily repine at oppreſſion, and have a will to preſerve themſelves; yet a ſmall body of deſperate Cavalliers might over-runne and ruine them at their pleaſure. Some profeſſed Souldiers were ſent downe from the Parliament to ſettle theſe and the Militia bands, who had this onely according to the Rules of warre, to be gathered under ſeverall Captaines, and many of them into the forme of a Reglment, which diſpoſition might fit them for a ſuddaine ſervice, and the very poſture conferre ſomething of a warlike ſpirit.

Within the City of *Glouceſter* one Company of Volunteers was added to the Trayned Band, and ſome Peeces of Ordinance obtained from *London* and *Briſtoll*, which were then received with univerſall amazement by an Inland people, though not long after they grew familiar with their terrible executions: meane while the City was open on three parts at leaſt, and had no conſiderable defence, onely capable thereof by advantage of ſcituation: The Citizens did mainely ſhew their care and affection in fortifying the Towne, a worke both expenſive and tedious; being of great compaſſe, and raiſed from the ground: During theſe things the Enemy came not

neere our dwellings, we heard of them a farre off, but little thought that the cloud of blood ſhould be blowne from the North and ſettle over us, upon whom it afterwards brake into ſo many ſhowres; that this place ſhould become the ſeate of Warre, and the Stage of action; that then lying open to a free commerce with the World, it ſhould be ſhut up ſometimes in ſtrict cuſtody, but ſtill under a larger confinement, and beleagured at a diſtance in the midſt of the Kings head Garriſons.

At that time the rumours of Warre and firſt acts of Hoſtility quickly filled the eares and tongues of people, Alarms were then taken at a greater diſtance, and the firſt was given from the neighbour City of *Worceſter*, by five hundred of the Kings Horſe, which entred the Towne, and at that ſeaſon were not the leaſt part of his Majeſties forces: His whole ſtrength could not amount to the number of a juſt Army, according to the ſlender proportion of thoſe times, neither could they march like a ſet and perfect body, but flaſht through the Land as the Lightning that ſtrikes from one quarter of the Heaven to the other. The noyſe of a nearer Enemy raiſed the Volunteers of the Country, who marched under the conduct of ſome Gentlemen towards *Worceſter*, expecting to meete Colonell *Nathaniel Fiennes* with a ſtrength of Horſe, but Colonell *Fiennes* had faced the Towne and drawne off before the advance of our Foote, and they alſo retreated having done nothing, but ſo meanely prepared for the ſervice, that they were much bound to the Enemy that they fell not out of the City and cut them in peeces. The ſame Volunteers came on the ſecond time, and were to joyne once more with Colonell *Fiennes*, who returned with a greater ſtrength of Horſe and Dragoones under the Command of Colonell *Sands*, and now alſo prevented our Foot; they attempted the onſet, and approached the Towne with much ſpeed and confidence on the Welch ſide of Seaverne, ſuppoſing the Earle of *Eſſex* at hand to aſſault the other ſide; but were meerely deluded by a falſe Meſſage from the Enemy

with

with a ſignall accordingly given, at which inſtant of time Prince *Rupert* arrived at *Worceſter*. By meanes of this deceit the Horſe ruſh upon an Ambuſcado, when through the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſage firſt over a Bridge, then through a narrow Lane, neither the Reare could be brought up, nor the Van make a Retreat. 'Twas an hot skirmiſh, and performed with ſufficient gallantry on our part by them that came up, where perſons of value were ſlaine and taken, the reſt wholly routed and fled in confuſion farre beyond the reach of a perſuite. This Victory was of great conſequence to the Enemy, becauſe the Omen and firſt fruits of the warre. Upon this the Kings forces hearing of the approach of the Parliament Army immediately quitted the Towne: ſo they ſhifted from place to place ſince their inconſiderable number would ſcarce allow them to erect any Garriſon; yet they encreaſed by their motion and quick diſpatch, gathered the ſtrength of the Countries as they paſſed along, and withall overcame the contempt of their ſmall numbers, and by frequent execution gained the repute of a Party not eaſily to be vanquiſhed. This they acted while the Parliament Army lay ſtill, or marched according to the ſlow paces of a greater Body. The day after the Skirmiſh the Earle of *Eſſex* entred *Worceſter* with his whole Power, and there continued a moneths ſpace, ſent forth ſeverall Parties, as the Lord *Stanford* to *Hereford* to prevent the Forces of South-wales, whilſt the King lay about *Shrewsbury*, and raiſed himſelfe to ſuch an Army as was able to deale with and endanger that maine power raiſed by the Parliament.

After the famous Battaile at Edge-hill, the firſt large field of bloud in theſe Civill Warres, though the Kings Army was there much broken, yet his ſtrength increaſed, and multitudes began to looke towards him, as one at leaſt-wiſe poſſible not to be overcome, and in this ſtrange confluence of men His Army ſeemed like that fabulous generation that ſprung out of the teeth of the Cadmean Serpent buried in the earth. The neglected Enemy becomes formidable, and the

Parliament Forces may desire their first advantage, but have sufficiently learned that to give the first blow is not against the Law of a defensive warre; the hopes of a subitaneous service are lost and the Kingdome is made sensible, that their peace and liberty will cost much bloud. Both the Armies begin to take up their winter quarters in the most defensible places, and for the most part are setled according to the affections and ingagements of the people; Colonell *Thomas Essex* marched into *Glouceſter* with the Command of two Regiments of Foote as Governour of the Towne, but as yet the Deputy Lieutenants had the sole Command of the County. Foure weekes had not passed in this Government but Colonell *Essex* was commanded to *Bristoll*, to secure and settle that City of so great concernment, both by Sea and Land, and at that time much distracted between the well-affected and malignant parties. So it was, that the Kings Cause and Party were favoured by two extreames in that City; the one the wealthy and powerfull men, the other of the baseſt and loweſt sort, but disgusted by the middle ranke, the true and best Citizens. Thus the present state of things had taught men to distinguish between the true Commons of the Realme and the dreggs of the people; the one the most vehement assertors of Publicke Liberty, but the other the first rise of Tyrannicall Government, and the foot-stoole upon which Princes tread when they ascend the height of Monarchy. In that City many of the rich men were dis-affected to reformed Religion, and some more powerfull were conscious of delinquency; others upbrayded themselves with their owne publicke disgrace, and therefore did much distaste the waies of the Parliament, and the needy multitude besides their naturall hatred of good Order were at the devotion of the rich men. These therefore began to raise Commotions, and hearing of the advance of the Forces from *Glouceſter*, flocked together after a tumultuary manner, shut up the Gates, but chiefly guarded that Port where they expected an entrance would be made, and planted many Ordnance against

againſt the approach of our men, with a full reſolution to fire upon them. They were expected in the Evening, but Colonell *Eſſex* had intelligence of theſe preparations, and from a Party within was directed that night to march to another Gate (then neglected by the multitude) that ſhould be ſet open; this was performed accordingly, and betimes in the morning he entred the City with his two Regiments, beſides great numbers out of this County, and in an inſtant ſurprized the mutineers, and quaſhed the buſineſſe without drawing of bloud.

The City of *Glouceſter* was againe left naked till the Earle of *Stamford* marched hither with his Regiment of Foot, and two Troopes of Horſe from *Hereford*, the Earle himſelfe was commanded into the Weſt upon his firſt arrivall, but his Regiment deſigned for this City under the command of Lieutenant Colonell *Maſſie*, firſt as Deputy Governour under the Lord *Stamford*, afterwards with the power in himſelfe which for the ſpace of two yeares and ſixe moneths continued an uninterupted and happy Government. The providence of God and the felicity of the place ſo over-ruling, that that Country which ſhould endure the brunt, ſuſtaine ſo many violent ſhocks, and beare up under the Kings whole Army ſhould be defended by a Commander, whoſe experience, fidelity, and valour with indefatigable care and induſtry might anſwer the expectation of ſo great a truſt, aſſiſted with that Regiment, whoſe very name proved a terrour to the Enemy, and long enjoyed the honour of the moſt ancient Regiment in the Parliament Army, though broken, torne, and worne out with extraordinary duty and ſervice. And becauſe the meere pompe of Military preparations, and the hopes of a ſudden Victory being now paſt, the warre hath put on a blacker viſage, and the ſad effects thereof come home to theſe parts; it is meete to expreſſe what was the ſtate of the Country at that time. The inhabitants of this County had openly engaged themſelves in the State

ſervice, nor as yet had they any thought of repenting, though caſt into the midſt of an inraged Enemy. *Oxford* is the Kings head Garriſon, *Herefordſhire* poſſeſſed by his Forces upon the firſt removall of the Earle of *Stamford* into *Glouceſter*; *Worceſter* hath already entertained a ſtrength, *Wales* riſe on the Kings behalfe by the power of the Lord *Herbert*: the Earle of *Eſſex* with his Army is drawne towards *London*, the Parliament Forces in the Weſt have their hands full; and there remaine in theſe parts of the Kingdome onely two broken Regiments at *Briſtoll*, which was much diſtracted by inteſtine diviſions, and one Regiment at *Glouceſter*; ſo that the moſt ſlender Guard was left upon theſe parts, where the Enemy reſolved their chiefe game for the winter action. And if this Country muſt be preſerved, it muſt be done by the Volunteers, which were yet as a Cake not turned, a kinde of Souldiers not wholly drawn off from the Plow or domeſticke imployments, having neither reſolution nor ſupport ſuitable to the ſervice: But the greateſt defect was the want of able and experienced Officers; neither had they any Commander in chiefe upon whom the hearts of the people might faſten.

Amidſt theſe things the ſtrength of the County was drawne to *Cirenceſter* a fronteer Towne towards the Kings head quarters, then made a Garriſon to prevent the incurſions of the Enemy, as well to preſerve the Country from ruine as to advance the Publicke Service; Colonell *Fettiplace* had the Command of this Garriſon, under whom ſome Traine Bands and Volunteers were drawne into a Regiment, and two Companies of the Lord *Stamfords* Regiment were added to incourage the buſineſſe: a few Horſe and Dragoones were raiſed at the free charge of the Country, and the reſt of the Militia were to aſſiſt upon all appearance of danger: all things were tranſacted in a more voluntary, but leſſe regular

regular way. The buſineſſe chiefly reſted on Sir *Robert Coske*, Sir *John Seamore*, Maſter *Nathaniel Stephens*, Maſter *Edward Stephens*, Maſter *Thomas Hodges*, with the reſt of the Deputy Lieutenants; and ſetting aſide theſe men with ſome gleanings of the Gentry, the Yeomen, Farmers, Cloathiers, and the whole middle ranke of the people were the onely active men. The Gentlemen in generall denyed their concurrence, diſcerting their Country either by open enmity or deteſtable neutrality; and from the Major part no better fruite was to be looked for in a degenerate Age, when in many of them there appeared an hatred of the Commons, and a ſtrong diſpoſition to the ends of Tyranny. Others there were not wholly averſe from the good of the Common-wealth, whoſe enmity was grounded in Religion, which obtained the moſt eminent place in the Parliaments Cauſe. The ſuperſtitious adoring of their old way imbittered their ſpirits againſt reformed Religion, which to them ſeemed a peeviſh affectation of novelty, beſides, the hatred and feare of Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline. But the greateſt number neither driven by ambition, nor the ſpirit of blind zeale, onely reſolving to be true to themſelves, deſerted the State with ſome inclinations to the contrary Faction, reflecting on their eſtates invironed with the Kings Country, neare the heart of his ſtrength and farre from Parliamentary ſupplies; beſides, the violence and quicke diſpatch of the Kings Army, with the ſlow performances of our Country Agents after the ſpace of an ordinary legall courſe in thoſe extremities, did much deterre them; the Country complained of their principall men for the neglect of Taxes, and the Gentlemen might happily ſee the grudgings of the Country in the payment of thoſe Taxes (for the common people are alwaies covetous though well-affected) and forbeare to urge whatſoever might diſtaſte the people, or croſſe the Parliaments accuſtomed moderation. Which ſlow deliberations did leſſen the eſteem of the ſervice in the hearts of many.

The

The ſeceſſion of the diſaffected Gentlemen did caſt an aſperſion that could not ſticke, that the buſineſſe was deſerted by knowing men, and proſecuted by a raſh and confuſed multitude. Whereas by no one thing could it more evidently appeare to be the Cauſe of the Commonwealth then by the acknowledgement of the whole Body of the Commons, which is more honeſt and wiſe in things of publicke concernement; for though they be very weake one by one, yet brought together they ballance each other, and when no man hath power to impropriate much, each man expects onely a proportionable ſhare in the Publicke intereſt. Neither is their judgement and fore-ſight to be undervalued who are apt to diſcerne any thing that concernes themſelves, and being united are not like to faile, for they have the beſt experience and are neerely affected with the woe or weale of the State, and ſo may ſometimes judge better then thoſe that guide it, as he that uſeth the houſe can better judge thereof then the Builder, and the Pilate of the Sterne then the Carpenter. And although they have not the firſt and moſt excellent part of knowledge to finde out, and by themſelves to underſtand the rules of Government, yet have they the ſecond part, which is alſo excellent to judge aright of things propoſed, and if not made fit for the yoke by dependence on the Gentry, can diſcover the fraud that lyes under the faireſt pretext; but the Gentlemen by depriving the meaner people of their due protection, blemiſhed the reputation of their Families, and croſſed the end of their honours and poſſeſſions, which in a well ordered State are given for a ſhelter to the under ſhrubs that ſome generous ſpirit neerer the Commons might keepe off the invaſion of Princes, and whoſe power was moſt deſired in ſuch an exegence, to gather up the ſcatterings of the people and keepe them united, who for want of this concurrence were of leſſe ſtrength and vigour.

Such

Such was the face of this Country now ready to receive the firſt ſhocke of the Enemies fury. About the firſt of *January*, 1642. the maine ſtrength of the Kings Army came before *Cirenceſter* prepared and reſolved to ſtorme it, yet they onely faced the Towne, and after two daies were ſtrangely taken off, either diſabled by the extreame cold on the Hills, or ſome ſuddaine misfortune, or daunted by the ſhew of unanimity and reſolution in the people, or elſe clouded in their thoughts by the ſecret Will of God in the nick of action, that they made not the leaſt attempt, but threatned an afterclap. A few daies after our forces had their deſigne upon *Sudely* Caſtle, at that time kept by Captaine *Bridges* in the behalfe of the Lord *Chandos*. Leiutenant Colonell *Maſſie* was intruſted with the manage of this action, who drew from *Glouceſter* a Party of three hundred Muſketeers, with two Sakres aſſiſted with foure-ſcore Horſe, and foure Companies of Dragoones from *Cirenceſter* by order of a Counſell of Warre held there, and conſent of the Deputy Lieutenants; there were in the Caſtle neere threeſcore Souldiers, with Proviſion and Ammunition ſufficient: Our men drew up before it in the Evening, made ſeverall ſhots, and the Canon did ſome Execution; the ſame night ſummons was given, the enemy refuſed to render upon quarter, but craved time till the next day, which in part was granted; Guards were ſet upon them all night, the next morning our men were drawne out to make an aſſault, Beds and Woolſ-packs were fetched out of the Neighbourhood, which they tumbled before, and ſaved themſelves from ſhot: the Horſe and Dragoones came up before the foot approached the wall, and poſſeſt themſelves of a Garden under the Caſtle, and got Hay and Straw which they fired, that the ſmoake driven by the wind ſmothered the houſe, in the ſhadow of which the Ordnance were brought up undiſcovered, and planted againſt the weakeſt part of the Caſtle, which when the enemy perceived they ſounded a parley, and immediately rendred upon agreement; the conditions were that all might have liberty of

perſon, and paſſe to their owne houſes leaving their Armes behind, and taking an Oath never to ſerve againſt the Parliament: they compounded alſo for the goods in the houſe, for which they were to pay five hundred pounds within ſixe daies, or to leave them a free prize to the Souldiers.

Within two daies after Prince *Rupert* faced *Sudely* with about foure thouſand Horſe and Foot pretending an attempt to regaine it, but in the meane time marched his Artilery towards *Cirenceſter*. Lieutenant Colonell *Maſſie* made proviſion to maintaine the Caſtle by taking in water, and ſtore of Hay and Corne, and having left there Lieutenant Colonell *Forbes* with a ſufficient Guard, himſelfe retreated to *Glouceſter*; the Prince with his Forces kept the Hills, and after three daies fell before *Cirenceſter* a ſtragling and open Towne, neither well fortified nor capable of defence. The champaine Country round about was moſt advantagious to the Horſe, in which the Enemies ſtrength did chiefly conſiſt, and which was then wholly wanting to that Garriſon, for their Horſe and Dragoones were ſent to the taking of *Sudely*: moſt of their Officers were drawne out upon that ſervice except the Captaines of the Volunteers, and Lieutenant Colonell *Karre* was the onely experienced Souldier left there: their Canoneers were wanting, the common Souldiers quite off the hinges either cowardly or mutinous. The ſtorme roſe when leaſt feared by the miſerable people, who had not ended the joy of their late deliverance from as great a power but ſtrangely diverted; and though they were ſtill in the ſame danger upon the reverſe of the Army, yet were they not capable of the leaſt diſtruſt, till the ſtorme hovered againe, either ſuppoſing themſelves invincible, or by defiance to have baffled a wary Enemy, that falls backe and waites his time to returne with greater fury. On the ſecond of *February* the Towne was aſſaulted and taken; the firſt and maine aſſault was made on a houſe a flight ſhot from the Town, which was defended by a hundred Musketeers for an houres ſpace againſt two Regiments of Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe which were led

led on by the Prince, till at length having drawne up their Musketeers, and by Granadoes fired the Barnes and Ricks and ſmoothered the Guard, the Enemies Horſe drove their Foote before them, entred the ſtreetes by maine force, and poſſeſt themſelves of the Garriſon within two houres, yet it coſt them the lives of many, amongſt whom the *Welch-men* were reported to ſuffer the greateſt ſlaughter, who in that Army were a continuall ſacrifice to the Sword. Each Guard made reſiſtance according to the Officers valour and experience; the Souldiers of the Earle of *Stamfords* Regiment had acted the beſt part but that they were moſt put to the ſword when the Towne was entred, except thoſe that by flight had their lives given them for a prey. Some few beſides defended their Guards a while, but the paſſages were many and open, and the enemy ſoone came upon their backes; as for the Country-men their houre was not yet come, neither had they quitted ſuch imployment as did infeeble their ſpirits, nor entred the Schoole of War to ſtudy indignation, revenge and bloud, that alone can overcome the terrour of an Army.

It ſo fell out that in the midſt of the ſervice they were at their wits end, and ſtood like men amazed, feare bereft them of underſtanding and memory, begat confuſion in the minde within, and the thronging throughts did oppreſſe and ſtop the courſe of action that they were buſied in everything but could bring forth nothing; few of ours were ſlaine in the fight, but many murthered after the taking of the Towne, eleaven hundred taken priſoners and at leaſt two thouſand Armes loſt, which the Country had there laid up as in a ſecure Magazine; the miſerable Captives were entertained with all deſpight and contumely, according to the Enemies accuſtomed cruelty in the beginning of the warre; Commanders and Gentlemen had no better quarter then the common Souldiers, but were all thruſt into the Church to be reſerved for a triumph, and trampled upon in a baſe and impotent revenge: whether the firſt fury of a civill warre, and the jarres of Brethren prove moſt outragious, or the

cauſe of Religion had blonded their minds. Not a man could be releaſed, though the price of his redemption were paid, till he had firſt attended the triumph at *Oxford*; that an unfortunate King might view the aſpect of ſuch innocent Subjects, that ſhould preſume to claime thoſe rights wherein they were borne when reaſon might eaſily evince that no ſlight matter could engage ſuch a people in a open warre as were ever willing to deceive themſelves into a Supererrogation of Loyalty.

The whole Country was quickly full of this diſaſter, and in vaine did thinke to recover what was loſt by weakneſſe of ſpirit or errour in the chiefe manage of the buſineſſe; thouſands of men armed and unarmed flocked together, and reſolved to undertake the Enemy under the conduct of a grave and well-minded Patriot; but the deſired Leader was conſcious of the peoples madneſſe, and knew well that they made a loude cry afarre off, but if once brought up to the face of the Army they would never abide the fury of the firſt onſet. Wherefore he refuſed to engage himſelfe and them upon a certaine deſtruction; nevertheleſſe the people bitterly railed againſt him, and curſt him as a Traitor to his Country; neither could the experience of theſe times diſpoſſeſſe them of that abſurd conceite.

The very next day after the loſſe of *Cirencester* the City of *Glouceſter* was demanded by Prince *Rupert*, the Summons found the people extreamely daſhed at the ſtrange turning of things, and ſo much amazed that they could not credit the report of this blow, though confirmed by ſundry eye-witneſſes; the hearts of many ſunke very low and began to lye flat, Zeale and Religion upheld ſome, all had a kinde of will; but the ſtrong fidelity and reſolution of the Souldier at that time, and in all extreame hazards upheld the Garriſon. The Prince therefore received a ſhort anſwer from Lieutenant Colonell *Maſſie* and the principall Officers, that they were reſolved with their lives and fortunes to defend the City for the uſe of the King and Parliament

liament, and in no wiſe would ſurrender at the demand of a forraigne Prince. Another anſwer was returned from the Mayor of the City (for the Martiall Command was not fully ſetled) that he was reſolved according to his Oath and Allegiance to keepe the City in his Majeſties behoofe, and would not deliver the ſame according to this ſummons. Whereupon a ſecond ſummons was ſent from the Prince, which could not alter the caſe in their judgement who held the Towne, and ſeeming withall to perſwade and ſolicite them out of their Hold, did eaſily beget an opinion of the Enemies weakeneſſe and their owne conſiderable ſtrength, ſince neither Religion nor modeſty could with-hold from bloud that enraged Party, but onely the conſcience of a ſelfe inſufficiency; the Souldier therefore began to acknowledge the remainder of power which did not appeare contemptible with the Kings Army.

Hitherto the City hath been lodged in the midſt of many out Garriſons as the heart in the body, but now it hath enough to doe in its owne ſafety, and the remote parts muſt be pared off that a liberall nouriſhment might preſerve and foſter that place which was the ſeate and fountain of life unto theſe parts of the Kingdome. *Sudeley Caſtle* was deſerted, the Garriſon of *Tewkſbury* (which was defended onely with ſuch ſlender Forces as *Glouceſter* could ſpare out of its penury before the Enemy fell on the County) was already ſurpriſed with feare; both places could not be maintained when ſo great a power did urge, and beare downe on every ſide. Thoſe of *Tewkſbury* ſent an expreſſe to the City to informe them of the State of their Towne, and to requeſt more aide; likewiſe they diſpatched Meſſengers to the Villages round about, to acquaint them with the ſtate of things, and to try whether the Inhabitants would come in perſon or ſend in their Armes, but there came neither the one nor the other, and 'twas reſolved by the Counſell of Warre at *Glouceſter* that the Forces, Ordnance and Ammunition with all well-affected perſons ſhould forth-with repaire thither. In the heate of this de-

bate there came an invitation from *Worceſter* by a Letter from Sir *William Ruſſell*, with intimation of conditions of Peace; all which diſpoſed that Towne to complyance with the Enemy. Hereupon a Common Counſell being held, and the Officers preſent 'twas determined that the *Glouceſter* order was to be obeyed. The Towne thus deſerted was willing to provide for its owne ſafety, and chuſed rather to obtaine ſome reaſonable termes of Peace then ſuffer it ſelfe to be quite ruined; wherefore they drew up ſome Propoſitions to be ſent to Sir *William Ruſſell*, yet before the diſpatch they ſent to *Glouceſter* a ſecond Meſſage by the Miniſter of the Towne, and an Officer of the Garriſon with Sir *William Ruſſells* Letter and their Anſwer. Theſe promiſed an early return, but failing ſome houres of the time appointed, in the meane while the Propoſitions were ſent to *Worceſter*. This Meſſage brought a countermand, when there ſprung an Alarum that *Cirenceſter* was regained, and the ſpoile and priſoners recovered backe, for this cauſe the Souldiers were detained a while, but when the report was found untrue, of themſelves they began to quit the Towne. In the Evening the Meſſenger returned from *Worceſter* with the Propoſitions granted; the ſubjection ſeemed unfortunate and diſhonourable in them whoſe affections were engaged to this Cauſe, neither did there appeare a meanes to prevent it for the tranſmigration of the whole Towne was impoſſible, nor as yet did the condition of the warre require any ſuch thing from one particular place; for the Parliaments adherents, as alſo the Malignant Faction did never at once forſake their habitations to be gathered into one body for a ſuddain concluſion, but were brought peecemeale unto action, and many lye under covert in the Enemies Country reſerving themſelves for future ſervice. Thus the people entertained gladly thoſe conditions, which though performed in part yet were a ſufficient bondage, did impoveriſh their ſpirits, coole their zeale of Religion, and leſſen the former inclination to liberty; after which by frequent changes under many Lords they became ſo feeble

that

that they never durſt conſide in themſelves to vindicate the Towne into its former happineſſe, but a long time remained averſe to the faireſt opportunities, yea neceſſities of ingagement and deſired an everlaſting neutrality. The deſerting of this Towne encreaſed the forces of *Glouceſter* by two hundred Foot and Dragoones, and tooke off the feare of a greater miſchiefe; for though the quitting of the place cauſed us to reſent our great diſtreſſe, yet the taking thereof would have confounded our thoughts, and hazarded the maine chance where the whole ſtrength did not lye at ſtake.

The enemy breathed out threatnings, many falſe friends ſought cunningly to make us affraid, the Country-men in generall were taken off, who in their jocund beginnings ſtill concluded on the Victory, but never prepared for a blow, that the whole buſineſſe was daſhed at one clap, and eſpecially when *Cirenceſter* was taken, in which they did repoſe ſo much truſt. The iſſue diſcovered the weakneſſe of the former proceedings in committing the whole fortune of the Country, and the lives of ſo many men to ſuch a poore defence, and hazarding the maine reſt where the ſtrength of the game could not be managed. Beſides, the Enemy had this great advantage in over-powring the minds of men; who, ſince their cauſe could not lay claime to juſtice, nor themſelves procure love, ſought to prevaile by terrour and by their late cruelties became dreadfull: ſo that ſuch ſpirits as wanted greatneſſe of minde or ſtrong fidelity to perſevere, did greedily comply with that Party, ſuppoſing themſelves ſecure from this ſide, at leaſt in reſpect of a deep perſonall ſuffering, which ſuppoſals were grounded upon the Parliaments lenity, and unto which peradventure they were bound, that they might gaine affections in a voluntary warre. The more zealous and active had no head under whom they might unite and grow ſtrong; the power of the Deputy Lieutenants was quite fallen, a kind of command ſuitable onely to the infancy of Military affaires, and the whole buſineſſe was devolved on the Souldier, whom the people then beheld as the profeſſed ſervants of fortune, and truſted

truſted not till after manifold experience; ſo they ſunke under the burden, and gave up themſelves to ſpoile and rapine. The clouds gathered round the City, the Enemy lay ſtrong at *Cirenceſter* and *Tewkſbury*, our men were confined to the Towne walls; the workes not halfe finiſhed, the Souldier within mutinous and deſperate: no monies came from the State, and but ſmall ſupplies out of the Country, that the vileſt mutineers were to be dealt with by intreaty, their inſolencies to be ſuffered with patience, who tooke ſo great advantage by our extremity that their humours had a full vent, and ran forth into incorrigible wickedneſſe: the City was conſtrained to free quarter and great diſburſements by way of lone, and the Governour to uſe his skill in keeping together the male-contented Souldiers.

The Army raiſed in *Wales* by the power of the Earle of *Worceſter*, and his Son the Lord *Herbert* begins to appeare, is deſigned for *Glouceſter*, and comes on at *Coford* in the Forreſt of *Deane* three miles from *Monmouth*, where Colonell *Berrowes* Regiment had made a kind of looſe Garriſon for the defence of the Forreſt in an open Towne, and with ſlender preparations. Here the *Welch* fell on, but their Officers with ſtrange fury drove our party before them, which was borne downe by their multitudes yet with a greater loſſe on their part; divers Officers were ſlaine, and with the reſt their Commander in chiefe Sir *Richard Lawdy*, Major generall of *South-Wales*; of ours few ſlaine, but Lieutenant Colonell *Winter*, and ſome inferiour Officers, with about forty private Souldiers taken Priſoners. All the ſtrength of theſe parts are now driven into the Walls of *Glouceſter*, onely *Barkly Caſtle* is held ſtill for an entercourſe between us and *Briſtoll*. This City was accounted one of the chiefe Holds of the Kingdome, and far from the well-ſpring of ſuccour, yet was there no care of a competent Brigade or Magazine, a common defect, by which the State hath received much detriment; that through the penury of men, Armes, and Ammunition, remote Garriſons are left in diſpaire, or the intention of the maine Army muſt be diverted for their relief.

Our

Our ſuccours were yet to be raiſed, or ſelected out of ſeverall commands and come on ſlowly; the people were held up by falſe reports, and to ſtave off the Enemy the Governour was to put the beſt face on a bad matter.

Meane while a great power of the Welch Army advance towards *Glouceſter* and ſetled at *Highham* houſe within two miles of the City and began to intrench. The Governour placed a Guard at the Biſhops houſe to keepe them at a diſtance. Sir *Jerome Brett* their Major Generall had the confidence to demand the Towne, but the ſummons was received with ſcorne from a Welch Brigade, and became ridiculous when Prince *Rupert* had beene twice refuſed, beſides an inveterate hatred derived by fabulous tradition had paſſed betweene the Welch-men and the Citizens of *Glouceſter*. Such ſlight and irrationall paſſages prevaile much with the common people in whom opinion beares rule. Thoſe Forces were ſaid to expect Prince *Ruperts* approach on the other ſide, elſe it cannot be imagined to what end they lay five weekes in a ſtinking neſt. They were baſely baſled, never attempted our out-Guard, never undertooke the leaſt Party that iſſued forth. Meanewhile the Prince was conceived to waite upon other deſignes. The *Briſtoll* Plot offered it ſelfe, upon which his perſon did attend before the Gates of that City. Thence he was drawne off to ſtop Sir *William Wallers* advance for our reliefe, who deceived the Prince by ſtrong reports and night marches, and happily drilled along his ſmall Army to the place of action. The Governour could attempt nothing but onely make good the Guard at the Biſhops houſe, and flouriſh with ſome ſlender Sallyes; he had not an hundred Horſe, and the Enemies foot were double the number of thoſe in the Garriſon; at length an addition of two hundred Horſe and Dragoones from *Briſtoll* under the command of Captain *John Fiennes* gave ſome life to the buſineſſe: hereupon ſeverall Parties at ſundry times were drawn out, wch never failed to beat the Enemy into their works, kill and take priſoners, although treble the number of our ſtrongeſt Party. So that the name of our Blew Regiment became a terrour

to thoſe miſerable Welch-men, who were partly conſtrained to take up Armes, partly allured with the hope of plunder. Certainely they were deceived out of their owne Country not to fight but to take *Glouceſter*; by which meanes they could act an impotent villany and cruelty, but nothing of a Souldiers gallantry.

Immediately after the taking of *Malmesbury* Sir *William Waller* bent his courſe towards *Glouceſter*, and laid his deſigne for the ſurprize of the Welch Army; he gave notice of his advance unto Lieutenant Colonell *Maſſie*, with directions inſtantly to draw forth both Horſe and Foot before *Highnam*, and to keepe them in continuall action, that they might not underſtand his approach. He gave order likewiſe that thoſe Flat-bottomes which were brought from *London* upon Carriages for ſervice upon the River *Seaverne*, ſhould be ſent downe to Frampton paſſage, ſixe miles below *Glouceſter*, where both Horſe and Foot were arrived by noone, paſſed over the River before night, and unawares of the Enemy got between them and home, tooke them in a ſnare and intercepted their flight. The Governour performed according to the intention of the Plot, drew forth all the Horſe and a Party of five hundred Foot, brought up the Ordnance neere the houſe, and kept them in the heate of play till the Evening; at night he ſet Guards round the houſe, with that ſtraiteneſſe and confidence that the Enemy durſt not ſtirre, nor a Spy ſteale out, although they lay fifteene hundred ſtrong. At Sunne riſing they had a freſh Alarme by our Ordnance, and were held to it by our Musket ſhot. This morning their Horſe iſſued out, attempting to force their way through the Horſe Guard, which they did, and put ſome of our Horſe raſhly charging and upon diſadvantage, to a diſorderly retreate, but comming up to a Foot Guard received a repulſe: and to the reliefe of that Guard which was thought too weake, a Party was drawne from the Artillery, and that againe by this meanes much neglected, in ſo much that the ſame inſtant the enemy fell out upon our Ordnance then like to

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be deſerted, but were beaten backe by the gallantry of ſome few that kept their ground. In this point of action Sir *William Waller* came up and ſhot his warning-peece on the other ſide, which daſht the Enemy, and ſo revived our men that they ran up with fury, ſtormed a redoubt, and tooke in it two Captaines and above thirty private Souldiers, which ſervice had a maine influence upon the ſurrender of the houſe; Sir *William* placed his Army to the beſt advantage for ſhew, and diſplaid the Colours of two Foot Regiments reduced to a hundred and fifty men, drew neere the houſe and made ſome few ſhot with his Canon; After his approach not a man of the Enemy was ſlaine or hurt, yet the common Souldier would doe any thing but fight, when they were well fortified, and had a ſufficient Magazine; they ſounded a Parley and ſent forth ſome Officers to treat, which had this reſult; that they ſhould render the houſe and themſelves as priſoners, and the Officers ſhould receive reſpect and quarter according to their quality. Upon the returne of theſe termes ſome adviſed to break through, which the common Souldiers utterly refuſed and neglected the advantage of a dark and rainy night. The perſons that treated dealt the ſecond time in a kind of begging way, but at laſt accepted the former conditions, and gave up the *Welch* Army into the hands of men quite ſpent with continuall marches and watching. Divers perſons of quality were here taken, the moſt powerfull Gentry of *Herefordſhire*, ſome of thoſe that in ſcorne were ſtiled the Nine Worthies, who in the firſt opening of the great breach affronted the Parliament with a ſcandalous remonſtrance; the next day being the twenty fift of March, neere fifteene hundred were led Captive into *Glouceſter*, as great a number as Sir *William Wallers* Army with the Garriſon Forces could riſe unto: Thus the firſt fruites of *Wales* were blaſted, the ſtrength of the nearer parts almoſt vanquiſhed, and the effects of this Victory had been more laſting had it been uſed to the beſt advantage. The Kings Party had a notable faculty in the improvement of Victories by ſtrict impriſonment, and inhaun-

cing the rate of their Captives; their uſuall fierceneſſe did extract great Ranſomes or unequall exchanges, and diſpoſed them to detaine their Captives in extreame miſery, and to neglect their owne friends in the like thralldome, of which thoſe that were taken at *Cirenceſter* gave a full teſtimony: But the Parliament Garriſons knew not how to keepe a correſpondence in this caſe, but groaned under the burthen of miſerable priſoners, were prone to exchange, or ſet free upon eaſie termes. And by this meanes moſt of the common ſouldiers then taken within tenne daies were ſent backe into their owne Country, with an Oath never to ſerve againſt the Parliament; others that tendred themſelves were entertained in the ſervice, who for the moſt part proved Runnegadoes; the Commanders and Gentlemen came off, ſome with a Ranſome, and Oath which they quickly violated, and the reſidue were wholly loſt at the ſurrender of *Briſtoll*.

The whole ſucceſſe of the former action happily complyed with the maine Plot, and extreamly daſhed the Kings affaires in theſe parts. The generall fame did increaſe and heighten the repute of Sir *William Waller*, and the enemy poſſeſſed there with began to draw back on all ſides; Sir *Matthew Carew* forthwith quitted the Towne of *Tewkſbury*, which within twelve houres was repoſſeſt by our Forces, Captaine *John Fienes* was commanded thither with a ſlender ſtrength of Horſe and Dragoones, with whom the well-affected of the Town that abode in *Glouceſter* began to returne. The undertaking was haſty and confuſed, without the obſervance of the Enemies motion or diſtance, or any rationall aſſurance of defending the place. Our Party had no ſooner ſaluted the Towne but received an Alarme that the former Forces were returned with a greater power. 'Twas a gallant Brigade of Horſe commanded by the Lord *Grandeſton*, which immediatly came from *Cheltenham*, whereof our men had not the leaſt intelligence; it ſeemed by the event that the Enemy expected none from *Glouceſter*; however there was quicke diſpatch on both ſides, yet Captaine *Fienes* with his whole Party had bin

ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed had not thoſe Horſe been kept off at a miles diſtance by a ridiculous accident. It ſo fell out that they met a man comming alone from the Towne, whom they fell to queſtion whether any Forces were there, of what ſtrength, and by whom commanded; the man intending nothing leſſe then the eſcape of our Party, but ſuppoſing them a part of the Parliament Forces, and willing to curry favour begins to talke of a maine ſtrength and vaſt numbers, with ſo many Guns and all kind of preparations, and withall defies the Cavalliers with much affected indignation; which words ſo farre prevailed that they preſently held a Counſell of War, and once were about to fall back. This delay gave an houres reſpit to thoſe within to prepare for a flight, who had no ſooner recovered the end of the Towne, but the Enemy had entred, amazed to ſee themſelves ſo miſerably deluded.

When Sir *William Waller* had refreſhed his men ſome few daies about the firſt of Aprill 1643. he advanced towards *Monmouthſhire*, at the ſolicitation of divers Gentlemen of that Country, with a promiſe of concurrence in reducing thoſe parts to the obedience of King and Parliament. When he came neere the Towne of *Monmouth* where the Lord *Herbert* had began to place a Garriſon, the Souldiers did not abide his comming, but all ſhifted for themſelves by flight; Sir *William* entred the naked and open Towne, where he ſtayed a while and ſent many Parties abroad the Country for ſupplies of money; thence marched to *Vske*, where he ſet free ſome priſoners kept there; but the reducing of the Country came to nothing, for the Gentlemen did not perform, and he found there what uſually comes to paſſe in ſuch caſes, that men deſirous of alterations invite upon ample promiſes, but never make good, and ſeldome appeare in the buſineſſe till the Souldier hath done the worke to their hands, or they have gotten ſome ſtronge Hold to ſecure their ingagements. So that the well-affected would not declare themſelves, becauſe a running Army could be no laſting ſupport, and they had no ſtrong Hold, nor the ſtream of the people, which were at the devotion of the Earle of *Worceſter*, almoſt an univerſall Land-lord in that County.

Whilſt theſe things are acted Prince *Maurice* enters *Tewkſbury* with a power of Horſe and Foot added to thoſe former under the command of the Lord *Grandeſton*, reſolving to make after Sir *William Waller*, and to intercept his return out of *Wales*, for he was gotten into ſuch a nooke of the Land in the Enemies Country, that the Prince might eaſily drive him to a *Non ultra*. Wherefore a bridge of Boates was made over *Seaverne* at *Tewkſbury*, that they might paſſe to and fro nearer the retreat of our Army. Here the Prince marched over with a body of two thouſand Horſe and Foot, confident of this deſigne, and therefore too remiſſe & ſlow in his advance. Sir *William* was nimble in the retreat, cauſed his Foot and Artillery to paſſe over *Seaverne* at *Chepſtow*, and himſelfe with his Horſe and Dragoones paſſed through the lower part of the Forreſt of *Deane* neare the River ſide, and before the Enemy had notice of his march ſent forth two Parties to fall upon two of their maine quarters, which was performed whilſt the maine body ſlipt between both, and a Party was left to face them and make good the retreat, which came off ſomething diſorderly, and with the loſſe of a few private Souldiers. 'Twas an exquiſite conveyance, and unexpected felicity that brought them out of the ſnare, through thoſe intricate waies. This Alarme quickly reached *Glouceſter*, and Lieutenant Colonell *Maſſie* drew out three hundred foot and two troops of horſe to fetch off our men, but if he found them diſ-ingaged, for a further deſigne. This Party met them within two miles of the Towne, where the Governour made knowne to Sir *William Waller* his purpoſe to ſet upon *Tewkſbury*, and taking the opportunity of the Princes abſence, and the Enemies jollity at our ſuppoſed totall defeate, inſtantly advanced upon them, and by break of day brought up his men before the Towne, one part whereof fell in to the *Ham*, ſeaſed upon the Guard left with the bridge of Boats and cut off that bridge, the Horſe with the reſt of the Foot came up *Glouceſter* way, the Forlorne Hope ſurpriſed and ſlew the Sentinell, climbed over the workes, and cut down the draw-bridge; whereupon both Horſe and Foot rushed in, and the party on the other ſide of *Avon* ready to enter: there were left

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in the Towne neere three hundred men commanded by Sir *Matthew Carew*, whom the triumph of yesterdaies conceived Victory laid asleepe, and the sudden Alarme rouſed up, firſt into a ſhuffling fighting poſture, and after halfe an houre to a nimble eſcape. Sir *Matthew Carew* fled, and many eſcaped the hands of our men, who wanted numbers to ſurround the Towne, but moſt of the common Souldiers, and ſome valuable Officers were taken. *Oxford* was as miſerably gulled in theſe paſſages, and in a few houres extreamely affected with contrary reports; for the jocund newes of the vanquiſhing of Sir *Wil. Waller* arrived early in the morning, but before noone an expreſſe came of the loſſe of *Tewkſbury*, which was caſt upon the heat of the firſt report like cold water into a boyling pot.

The ſame day a Party of Prince *Maurice* his Horſe appeared from the top of a Hill neere *Tewkſbury*, and intimated the approach of his whole Army; whereupon Sir *William Waller* marched thither that Evening, and reſolved to breake downe or make good the bridge at *Upton* upon *Severne*, beſides which there was no paſſe nearer then *Worceſter*; but the Scouts gave notice that the Prince had recovered the bridge and ſet a guard upon it. The next morning Sir *William* advanced towards the Prince, and found him in *Ripple* Field with his Army drawn up, and divided into three bodies, beſides the hedges lined with Musketeers. Here our Forces faced the Enemy in a large field, and could hardly reach the third part of the Princes ſtrength, brought up their Gunnes, having neither ſhot prepared nor Cannoneers that underſtood the buſineſſe, nor the aſſiſtance of Foot, ſave only a part of the Governours owne company, beſides the wind and Sun were againſt them, and no retreat if need were, but through a narrow Lane of two miles long; and whereas they might ſtand upon the top of a riſing ground to deceive the Enemy with the ſemblance of a greater power behind, they deſcended a little on the ſide of the Hill, and diſcovered their weakneſſe to a full view. In this poſture ſome perſwaded to fight, and began to make ſome ſhot with the Ordnance which gave no ſhew of the leaſt execution; But ſome other Officers

examined

examined the Cannoneere, and finding neither fit Bullet nor any convenient ſhot, but all things at randome, earneſtly diſſwaded either to make the onſet, or expect the enemy in that place; and adviſing likewiſe the tryall, diſcovered their Ambuſcadoes within the hedges. Hereupon Sir *William Waller* fell back, and entred the narrow Lane commanding a Party of Dragoones to face the Princes Army, and the Musketeeres to ſtand at the corner of the lane within the hedges to make good the retreat. The enemy fell on, not a man of thoſe Dragoons would ſtand to receive the charge, but hurried away, broke over the hedge, fell among and diſordered our owne Musketeers, the Enemy clapt in after them, cut down foure or five of the Foot, and tooke as many Priſoners; Lieutenant Colonell *Maſſie* kept cloſe to his Foot, and inſtantly diſpatcht to *Tewkſbury* for a ſupply, and Sir *Arthur Hazelrigg* prevailed with his owne Troope to charge, and in his owne perſon performed gallantly; the Foot with thoſe Horſe put the Enemy to a ſtand, and in part tooke off the foulneſſe of the retreat through that ſtraite paſſage. When they came to the next open place our men had the advantage of a ditch to ſtay the perſuit, and in the heat of the chaſe one Foot Souldier at the command of the Governour turned upon the Enemy a gate then caſt of the hinges; which barred their entrance & enabled our men to draw up for a charge; here for a while they ſtood in a maze, but on a ſuddain faced about, ran flock-meale, the Enemy upon their backs, and the cloſe of this action was like to be miſerable, but at the entrance a ſtrait paſſage neere the *Myth* Hill, a ſupply of Foot from the Town opportunely met them, gauled the Enemy and put them to a ſtand once more, whilſt the Governour charged the leader of the forlorne hope hand to hand, and was reſcued by the gallantry of ſome Officers, when of ours onely a ſmall Party of Horſe remained in the field, the reſt being got off in great confuſion. Yet the eſcape might equall a Victory, and the ſaving of the Forces paſſe for cleare gaine. Prince *Maurice* did not attempt the regaining of *Tewkſbury*, the Government whereof was intruſted to Sir *Robert Cooke*, who had newly raiſed a Regiment of Foot by Commiſſion from ſir *William Waller*.

At

At that ſeaſon the main ſtrength of the Kings Army was drawn from theſe parts when *Redding* was beleaguerd by the Earle of *Eſſex*, by which meanes the Parliament forces had a large and free game in this Countrey, went on with a full ſtream of ſucceſſe, driven with a gentle gale of providence, and a kinde of unimitable happineſſe, in unbloody victories. The fortune of the former did over-rule the event of the ſucceeding action, and the name and preſence of Sir *William Waller* did include more then a thouſand men. Neither was he wanting to himſelfe, but made the beſt uſe of his preſent fame, and kept it up by conſtant active endeavours, leſt a little intermiſſion might permit the enemy to recollect himſelfe, or the reall weakneſſe of this Army be diſcerned. It was therefore ſuddenly reſolved for *Hereford*, whither he advanced with a thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, aſſiſted by the Governour, with the greateſt part of the Lord *Stamfords* Regiment: there were alſo the beginnings of Colonell *Thomas Stephens* his Regiment. The maine body of Horſe and Foot were drawn up before Biſters gate on the North ſide of the Town, ſtood aloof off and ſhot at random; till the Lievtenant Colonell commanded Captain *Grey* with a party of musketiers over the River, towards *Wie* Bridge, whoſe march was ſecured by a riſing bank under the walls. Theſe were ordered to make ſhew of an aſſault, and if need were to fall back unto the water ſide, where ſeconds were placed for their reliefe. The enemies horſe ſallied out upon them, whom that party having gallantly kept off, and forced back into the City, with-drew thence and gained a Church within Piſtoll ſhot of St *Owens* gate, whence our Musketiers plaied on the walls and exceedingly terrified thoſe within. But the main reſt of the buſineſſe was the name of a conquering army, which Sir *William Waller* improved to the beſt advantage by all expedition and induſtry: And to help forward, *Maſſie* drew up two Sakers in a ſtrait line againſt *Wigmarſh* gate, not without extream hazard by ſhot from the walls; himſelfe gave fire, and the firſt Canon ſhot entred the gate, took an Officers head from his ſhoulders, and ſlew ſome few beſides. More ſhots were made, each of which ſcoured the ſtreets, and ſo daunted the enemy, that they preſently ſounded a parley, which was entertained by Sir *William Waller*, and hoſtages given on both ſides; the Parley laſted almoſt the whole day, whilſt

moſt of the common ſouldiers ranne over *Wie* bridge into *Wales*, only the Commanders and Gentlemen remained and were reported to be held in by the Townſmen, to ſweeten the ſurrender, and obtaine better quarter. Next morning they rendred: the chiefe priſoners here taken were the Lord *Scudamore*, Colonell *Coningsby* Sir *William Crofts*, &c. few horſe and private ſouldiers, but ſtore of Armes and Ammunition. The Town compounded, was ſecured from plunder, and after fourteen dayes deſerted. Sir *William Waller* obtained many faire victories, but had no power to make them good, becauſe his field was too large for that ſtrength; and the State made an inconſiderable number of men the only ſtay of the remote parts. Theſe could over-run the enemies Countrey, but get no ground, maſter no ſtrong hold, nor reduce a people naturally malignant, that were daſhed at preſent, but did flouriſh again in the reverſe of the Kings Army. The next attempt was made upon *Worceſter*, whither all the horſe and the greateſt part of the blue Regiment were drawn. They at *Oxford* were ſaid to have yeelded that Town for loſt, and to give out that Sir *William* was gone to take poſſeſſion of his purchaſe. For at that time Treaſon was the pretended cauſe of every loſſe on both ſides, eſpecially if weak and unworthy. Both horſe and foot came up before the City, where they lay a day and a night, effected nothing, and were drawn off at the noiſe of the Lord *Capels* advance; at which inſtant Sir *William Waller* was taken off theſe parts, and ordered to march into the Weſt, with all ſpeed to prevent the joyning of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* forces with the reſt of the Kings Army. Sir *Robert Cooks* Regiment was called off from *Tewkſbury* for the Weſtern expedition, and that Town once more ſlighted.

Hitherto Lievtenant Colonell *Maſſie* governed the City of *Gloceſter* by deputation from the Earle of *Stanford*, whoſe returne was not expected; wherefore the thoughts of the Citizens began to enquire after a Governour. They thought well of a man neare home, and caſt their eye upon a knowne Patriot. Nevertheleſſe more intelligent men upon the ſerious review of the Cities continuall hazard, found that the neceſſity of this place did require a tried Souldier, and that ſuch a one might poſſibly be found faithfull; but a timorous or unskilfull man muſt needs ruine all. Wherfore they reflected on *Maſſie*, whoſe good ſervices gave them alſo

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a competent aſſurance of his fidelity; that by the happy choice of the Citizens and the Lord Generals Commiſſion, he was appointed Governour. To enable the City to defend it ſelfe, a foot Regiment was raiſed by Commiſſion from Sir *William Waller* out of the Townſmen, for the major part both Officers and Souldiers, under the Command of Colonell *Henry Stephens*. The firſt intention of this Regiment was to defend the City only within the walls, according to the infancy of warre; but the hard ſervice of this place did ſuddenly require and exact the full duty of Souldiers. At this inſtant the City was well becalmed, only there hapned one paſſage of inferiour nature, but full of the fortune of warre. The Governour with a party of an hundred and twenty Horſe and Dragoons, advanced towards *Stow* in the wold, to beat up the enemies quarters; By break of day he fell into *Slaughter*, took a Lievtenant, twelve Troopers, horſe and armes, and thence marched to *Odington* a mile beyond *Stow*, where he ſurpriſed a Captaine of a Troop with forty men and horſe, and ſo made homewards, neglecting the reſidue of the enemy, who drew out of their quarters with all ſpeed. The remainder of their Regiment fell upon the reere of our men, neare unto *Slaughter* with ſome ſlight execution, but were beaten back. The Governour being confident he was able to fight with them upon any ground, made no haſte to march off, till the enemy had received a ſupply of Horſe from *Sudely* Caſtle, and again charged him at *Andovers* foord, whom our men received gallantly, and repulſed without any loſſe. The Captaine that led the Van was ſlain by the Governours hand, and the reſt wheeled about; whereupon the Governour diſmounted the Dragoons, and divided his men into three bodies, the horſe to the right and left wing, in this poſture reſolving to march up to the enemy (who would gladly rid their hands of the buſineſſe) but having advanced a little diſtance, and looking back to bring on his men, ſaw the greater part in a ſtrange hurry, occaſioned by the faceing about of ſome cowardly ſpirits, and himſelfe with thoſe diſmounted men deſperately engaged; for a while he ſhuffled amongſt the enemies Troopes, till obſerving himſelf eyed by ſome, he ſprang forth, fired in their faces, and came laſt off the field upon the maine roade. He offended here, by affecting too much gallantry, and was deceived in his new raiſed men, who were not hardned by the ſight of an enemy. Be-

ſides, no ordinary care was had of ſecuring the priſoners, who were all recovered back. Four of ours were ſlaine, many wounded; Colonell *Stephens*, a Lievtenant, with five and twenty private ſouldiers taken priſoners. The ſpringing hopes of Colonell *Stephens* failed unfortunately, when his eager minde, engaged him in the action without order, and againſt the will of the Commander in chiefe; he had no command in the action, but haſted after as greedy of the ſervice; he was led captive to *Oxford*, and a while after breathed his laſt in that poyſonous ayre, where many Gentlemen were obſerved in thoſe dayes to expire.

Amidſt theſe things Sir *John Winter*, a zealous Papiſt, began to declare himſelfe. A ſubtile wit, that pretended innocency till his houre was come, and had almoſt perſwaded the world that he durſt deny himſelfe, and commit an unpardonable ſinne againſt the Catholike Cauſe. His houſe in the Forreſt of Deane was at firſt neglected, when it was in the power of this Garriſon to ruine his deſigne. But under hand he prepared for defence, ſuddenly clapt in his owne Confidents, and with a little labour made it inacceſſible, but with apparent great loſſe, and maintained his den as the plague of the Forreſt, and a goad in the ſides of this Garriſon. Theſe things were acted about the time of that blow almoſt fatall to the Parliaments cauſe, in the vanquiſhing of Sir *William Wallers* Army at the *Devices*; which defeat caſt theſe parts of the Kingdome into a miſerable plight, when the State had placed the whole game in the ſucceſſe of this Army, never providing a reſerve. The King became maſter of the field, the Parliament left without an Army that could check the enemy, who came up to our gates, and by threats would ſeeme to ſhake the walls of the City. Many began to prepare for flight, whoſe preſence no reall neceſſity, but the peoples opinion did require. They at *Briſtoll* diſcloſed their feares, and gave no good preſages. And when that City was yeelded, *Glouceſter* did ſtand alone without help and hope. The Lord Generals Army pined away: Sir *William Waller* at *London* for a recruit: The Earle of *Stamford* ſhut up within the walls of *Exeter*: The Kings Countrey reached from the utmoſt *Cornwall* to the borders of *Scotland*, and he was able to divide his Army, one part for *Exeter*, and the other for *Glouceſter*.

That ſudden ſurrender of *Briſtoll*, which was almoſt beyond our feares,

feares, brought forth a dark gloomy day to the City of *Glouceſter*. The mindes of people were filled with amazement, and the failing of ſuch a promiſing Government made moſt men infidels, or at leaſt to queſtion all things. But here was the greateſt miſchiefe of all: Many were not wanting to debate upon the maine cauſe of the Kingdom; malignant ſpirits took the advantage of our miſery, and unſtable mindes, who beholding only the ſurface of things, and led by the common voice of their equals, were fluſhed in proſperous times, now became creſt-fallen, and queſtioned the paſſages of State, conceiving each miſcarriage a fundamentall errour, and accounting their preſent ſufferings not for Religion and Liberty, but ſome ſcruples of State policy. The ſtate of things required ſtrong reſolution; the uſuall poſture could not pretend to the ſafety of the place. The ſouldiers therefore acted with mindes more ſturdy and vigorous as deſperate concerning the enemy, but not in deſpaire of their owne party. The Commanders reſerved no place of retreat, and if cauſleſſe jealouſies over-clouded any, they put themſelves upon a free Declaration. The old and carefull ſouldiers who were unlucky in the cenſures of the people, upon the firſt arrivall of the ſad newes from *Briſtoll*, vented themſelves in ſharp and cutted ſpeeches, which burſting from the fulneſſe of the thoughts, did imprint and pierce, were received for good prognoſticks, and repaired likewiſe that credit, which the preſumption of a conceived opinion bore down, and an ordinary good behaviour could hardly raiſe up, but happily regained by one violent and ſeverer paſſage. The Officers were to give in a full reſolve, that no place be left for an after diſpute; wherefore they vowed never to ſee within the gates the face of a conquering enemy. But chiefly the hearts of the people were to be held up, wherefore the Governour appeared in publike, rode from place to place with a cheerfull aſpect, and bearing before him no change in the ſudden alteration of fortune. To them that enquired into his very thoughts, hee gave aſſurance of ſafety, concealing the danger, or leſſening its eſteem. Fear did not beget confuſion, but things were tranſacted in a calm and conſtant order. The preſages of miſery were exquiſitely ſhunned, and the leaſt ſhew of diſtraction and weakneſſe forbidden. Money, Plate, valuable goods, or any kinde of riches were not ſuffered to paſſe the Gates, but here to reſt as in a ſafe Treaſu-

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ry, that the people might reſolve upon a happy Deliverance or an utter Deſtruction. Nevertheleſſe, whoſoever was weak and faint-hearted, had leave to depart the City. Meane while the enemy dealt underhand, and by the mediation of ſeeming friends affectionately ſollicited a Surrender, with terrible information of our manifold loſſes abroad, of the rage of the Kings Army, and inevitable deſolation; and withall tendred the opportunity of an Accommodation between his Majeſty and the Citizens. The mouthes of the viler people were filled with curſes againſt the authours of our engagements. We received ſtrange intimations of dreadfull things concerning the State. The whole Countrey forſook us, and employed ſome to repreſent their deſires and thoughts of the buſineſſe, who in the generall had ſo farre revolted from themſelves, as to perſwade us to make our peace with the enemy, and to befool and execrate our perſeverance; for they conceived the ſtanding out of *Glouceſter*, however advantagious to the Commonwealth, yet miſerable for them; becauſe by the falling down of a great Army, they expected a deſtruction of corn and cattle, and if at laſt the King ſhould not take in this place, to ſtoop perpetually under two burthens, and be caſt into a remedileſſe condition of miſery and poverty. Whereas if the enemy ſhould prevaile, they were ſure to reſt in the heart of the Kings Countrey, farre from ſpoile and plunder, and have as free and ample trade as in times of peace. The Citizens examined their own ſtrength and grounds of perſeverance; a Common Councell was held, the Officers being preſent, their late proteſtation brought to remembrance, by which they were all obliged never to act or comply with the adverſe faction, and upon that pretext joyntly refuſed the tender of peace. Nevertheleſſe a great number of the Inhabitants were only not malignants, but born up by the zeale of the reſt, and the ſouldiers power; and thoſe ſtuck moſt to the buſineſſe, who were held up by the deep ſenſe of Religion, or acknowledged a neceſſity to withſtand a malicious and enraged enemy, whoſe implacable hatred urged them to offend againſt their own deſigns, and by horrid threatnings to make the attempt more deſperate. A den of Rebels was the common language: A few dayes reſpit recovered the City, and reports of a ſudden reliefe did reare up the ſpirits of the common people. No croſſe, ſhow, or doubtfull reſolutions did hinder

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the buſineſſe; all ſuſpended their private cares, and the women and children acted their parts in making up the defects of the fortifications. The ſtrength of *Glouceſter* was no more then two Regiments of foot, an hundred horſe with the Trained Bands, and a few reformadoes; there were beſides about an hundred horſe and dragoons from *Berkley* Caſtle, in the whole about fifteen hundred men: forty ſingle barrels of gunpowder, with a ſlender artillery. The works of a large compaſſe, not halfe perfect; From the South-gate eaſtward almoſt to the North Port, the City was defended with an arcient Wall lined with earth to a reaſonable heigth; thence to the North-gate, with a ſlender work upon a low ground, having the advantage of a ſtone Barn that commanded ſeverall wayes: Vpon the lower part of the City, from the North to the Weſt-gate, (being a large tract of ground) there was no ancient defence, but a ſmall work newly rayſed, with the advantage of mariſh grounds without, and a line drawn within from the inner North-gate under the Colledge wall to the Priory of St *Oſwalds*. From the Weſt towards the South gate along the River ſide, no more defence then the River it ſelfe, and the meadowes beyond levell with the Town: from the Caſtle to the Southport, a firme and lofty work to command the high ground in the Suburbs. The ditches narrow, but watered round. In this poſture did the City ſtand when the Kings forces hovoured over the hills, and now and then skirted upon the Town, before a cloſe ſiege was laid: upon the tenth of *Auguſt*, they came down like a torrent full of victory and revenge, with indignation that a forlorne City ſhould ſtand before them. Nevertheleſſe they would faine overcome without bloud, and the loſſe of time, then pretious in their full career of victory. For which end His Majeſty came in perſon before it, that the terror of his preſence might prevaile with ſome, and the perſon of the King amaze the ſimple, and ſeem to alter the caſe. Thus they began to work, becauſe the Mayor had anſwered a former ſummons from Prince *Rupert*, that according to his Oath he kept the Town in His Majeſties behoof, and ſome whiſperers gave a malignant intimation that the Kings preſence would ſway the people. And it was ſo, that the Town was held for the uſe of His Majeſty, but according to the ſenſe of the houſes of Parliament, and the Citizens put no difference between a command in perſon or deputation.

whereupon

whereupon His Majeſty gave this honorable ſummons by two Heraulds at Armes.

Charles Rex.

OVt of our tender compaſsion to our City of Glouceſter, and that it may not receive prejudice by our Army, which we cannot prevent if we be compelled to aſſault it: VVe are perſonally come before it, to require the ſame, and are graciouſly pleaſed to let all the inhabitants of, and all other perſons within that City, as well Souldiers as others know, that if they ſhall immediately ſubmit themſelves, and deliver this City to Vs, VVe are contented freely and abſolutely to pardon every one of them without exception, and doe aſſure them in the word of a King, that they nor any of them ſhall receive the leaſt dammage or prejudice by Our Army in their perſons, or eſtates. But that VVe will appoint ſuch a Governor, and a moderate garriſon to reſide there as ſhall be both for the eaſe and ſecurity of that City, and the whole County. But if they ſhall neglect this offer of grace, and favour, and compell Vs by the power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the helpe of God We ſhall eaſily and ſhortly be able to doe) they muſt thanke themſelves for all the calamities, and miſeries that ſhall befall them. To this Meſſage We expect a cleare and poſitive anſwer, within two houres after the publiſhing hereof? And by theſe preſents doe give leave to any perſons ſafely to repaire to, and returne from Vs, whom that City ſhall deſire to imploy unto Vs in that buſineſſe, And We do require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, quietly to ſuffer them to paſſe accordingly.

The King by this time drew into the field before the Towne, attended by Prince *Charles*, the Duke of Yorke, Prince *Rupert* and Generall *Ruthen*, faced us with about ſix thouſand horſe and foot

ſoote on that ſide, and two thouſand horſe on the other ſide. After ſome debate upon the Meſſage, an anſwer was drawn, conſented unto, both by Citizens and Souldiers, and preſented to His Majeſty by Serjeant Major *Pudſey*, and a Citizen.

WE the Inhabitants, Magiſtrates, Officers, and Souldiers, within this Garriſon of Glouceſter, unto his Majeſties gratious Meſſage return this humble Anſwer, That we do keep this City according to our Oath and Allegiance, to and for the uſe of his Majeſty and his royall Poſterity, and doe accordingly conceive our ſelves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majeſty ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament; and are reſolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

His Majeſty with all mildneſſe ſeemed to receive this anſwer, onely to wonder at our confidence, and whence wee expected ſuccour, adding theſe words, *Waller* is extinct, and *Eſſex* cannot come. The enemy advanced forwards into the Suburbs on the Eaſt ſide, where they loſt a Commander in the firſt skirmiſh, and the reſt were fired out; for upon the returne of the meſſengers the Suburbs on each part of the City were all in a flame, which did ſecure and more ſtrongly engage us, and which the enemy beheld as the act of deſperate Rebells; for thoſe dreadfull ſights doe ſeeme to higthen and bloud the minds of men. The next day we diſcovered that they had begun their entrenchments on the South and Eaſt parts, the night before in the ſhadow and ſhelter of the houſes which the flames had not catched, within Musket-ſhot of the walls. They in the trenches plyed their worke whileſt the Musketteers played hard on both ſides. Yet our men from the walls could doe little to retard their pioners, but by ſeverall ſallies with ſmall parties fell into their trenches, beate them out, gained ſome working-tooles, armes and priſoners, and retreated without loſſe. Our ordnance likewiſe from the Eaſt gate killed ſome few, and among the reſt a Lieutenant Colonell, and Captaine of the Queens black Regiment, Sir *Iacob Aſhley* was then ſhot in the arme, and

upon ſeverall approaches we beat of the enemy, killed and wounded many.

By that time the Welch forces under the command of Sir *Wil. Vavaſour*, were advanced to the Biſhops houſe, halfe a mile from the Weſt-gate, one of our outguards by us intended to keep off the approach of the Welch, but now deſerted for want of men, and that nothing might be loſt which we purpoſed to defend. Here they left a ſufficient guard and paſſed over the River to joyne with the forces that newly arrived from Worceſter: who made their leager on the North-weſt ſide of the City. Generall *Ruthen* placed his leager behind the Priory of Lanthony on the South-ſide very neere, but ſheltred from our ſhot by a riſing ground. Sir *Iacob Aſhley* with a ſtrong party quartered in ſome part of the Suburbs on the Eaſt-ſide. The Eaſt and South ports were dammed up, and rammed with a thickneſſe of Earth Cannon proofe, and the Walls on that ſide from port to port were lined to the Battlements, ſince there wee thought to receive the maine ſhock.

Three dayes after the ſiege laid, an hundred and fifty Musketteers commanded by Captaine *Gray*, ſallied over the workes upon the Worceſter forces, with whom the Welch had not yet joyned, fell into their quarters, marched up to their maine guard, killed a Captaine with eight or nine common Souldiers, tooke five priſoners, divers armes, burnt their guard, and retreated without the loſſe of any; within a day after upon ſome ſuſpition and kinde of intelligence that the enemies Ordnance lay undiſcovered in ſome grounds neere the Northgate; Captaine *Mallery* was commanded forth with a hundred and fifty Musketiers to ſurpriſe it, but finding none, retreated without loſſe, having killed ſome, taken a few priſoners and fired ſome of their quarters. Vpon the ſixteenth of *Auguſt* an other party of an hundred and fifty Musketiers, commanded by Captaine *Criſpe* ſallied forth at the North-port, fell into their trenches under the Town wall on the Eaſt-ſide, marched above halfe way through them, performed gallantly, killed above an hundred men as was confeſſed by ſome of the enemy, wounded many, beat them out of their workes, and by the helpe of our Musketiers from the wall, retreated without the loſſe of any, only two wounded after a very hot skirmiſh, for the ſpace of halfe an houre,

houre, the Cannon and Musquets on both ſides playing moſt furiouſly. Theſe executions put thoſe within on a deſperate ſtraine, and heated their minds with bloud.

The Enemy was indefatigable and ſwift in the entrenchments. The workes from the South and Eaſt gates, haſted to meete each other; their preparations ſeemed more tedious, yet effectuall and certaine and tended withall to ſave the lives of their men. Wherefore they chuſed not a ſudden ſtorme on the lower and weaker parts of the City, but rather to prepare the aſſault on the ſtrongeſt ſide, yet moſt eaſy to their intention. For there only could they rayſe the workes without the annoyance of the water-ſprings, that iſſued in the lower grounds; there only could they make battery within Piſtoll ſhot of the walls, that wanted flankers; and when they had once entred a breach there, they were inſtantly poſſeſt of the higheſt part of the Town. On this ſide therefore were their Ordnance brought up, and firſt two Culverin of ſixteen pound bullet were planted on the Eaſt ſide, a little out of musket-ſhot, where they made ſome ſtore of ſhot, but did no execution. Next they planted three pieces of Ordnance of foureteene and five and twenty pound bullet upon their battery in a ſquare redoubt, on the South-ſide, and began to batter the corner point of the wall, and a brick houſe adjoyning, where one of our men was killed, without more harme. Then they played upon our Ordnance mounted againſt their battery point blanck, and made ſome ſlight breach, which was quickly ſtopped up with wooll-packs, and Cannon baskets. By this time they had drawne the trench neer the moate, where they made a kind of mine to drain it, and ſunk much of the water: and attempted to caſt faggots into the moate, but were beaten off by our musketiers. At ſeverall times they ſhot large Granadoes out of their Morter-pieces, many fell into houſes and brake, but did no harme, and one that fell in the ſtreet had the fuz quenched before it came to ground, was taken up whole and found to weigh three ſcore pound.

After the Welch and Worceſter forces came up, foure peece of Ordnance were drawn a good diſtance before the place of their leager, and one planted againſt the Awnegate, and the Sconces thereunto adjoyning. Wherefore a party of about foure hundred Musketiers commanded by Major *Pudſey* and Captaine *Gray*

assisted by Captaine *Faulkner*, and Captaine *Massey*, sallied forth of the Northgate. Meane while a Lieutenant with fifty Musketteers was sent over the works to give them an Alarm, whilst the greater party got behinde their Cannon and breastworkes, fell upon their maine guard, slew many Officers, two Canoneers with about a hundred common Souldiers mortally wounded, took a Lieutenant with foure more prisoners, nayled their Cannon, and retreated with the losse only of two slaine, and about foure taken prisoners.

The Enemy having planted three pieces of Ordnance against the Southside, and now three more on the Eastside, and two more neer the Eastgate within Pistoll shot of the Town wall, began a most furious battery upon the corner point, and made above an hundred and fifty great shot against it, whereby the stones were sorely battered, but the Earth workes stood firme. By all this shot only two persons were hurt, for the Battery was so neare, that if the Bullet missed the wall, it flew quite over the Town, or lighted at randome, yet in the intervalls of the great shot after each discharge our musketiers playd hard, and killed foure principall Cannoneers, neither were the people daunted at the noyse of Cannon, which by the slender execution, became so contemptible, that at that very time women and children wrought hard in lining the walls and repairing the breaches. The enemy continued the storme by sending Granadoes which were guided by the hand of providence into by-places, and sometimes falling upon the houses did rend and teare the buildings, when the people within were preserved.

After ten dayes siege two severall parties were designed for the nayling of the enemes cannon. These were commanded to fall into the trenches and march on till they met each other. The one party of about two hundred Musketiers of the Town Regiment commanded by Captaine *Stevenson* and Captaine *Moore*, sallied forth at the Northgate, to have fallen into their Trenches at the East Port, but by the mistake of their guide, over a marish ground and full of ditches, were brought round about to Sir *Iacob Ashleys* quarter, where most of them came not up; only fourty Musketiers, encountred with five Colours of the Enemy, slew divers of them, took two Lieutenants prisoners, forced back the

rest,

reſt, and marching a little farther, faced and fired at eight Colours more, and ſo retreated: In the retreat two Troopes of the Enemies horſe came on the Reare, whom our men facing about and charging forced to fall back and made good their own retreat; in this diſtracted skirmiſh two of ours were killed, three hurt, and a Sarjeant taken priſoner. The other party of the Lord *Stanfords* Regiment commanded by Captaine *Blunt* and Captaine *White*, ſallied by boat down the River on the Southpart of the Town towards the maine Leagre, marched up to a Square redoubt (our Cannon in the mean while playing upon the houſes in the Suburbs) beat them thence, killed a Major with ſome common Souldiers, and advanced to meet the other party. But the deſign failing through the miſguidance of the other party, they were called off, and by the help of our Ordnance made a faire retreat without loſſe of any, onely two wounded. The failing of the enterprize croſſed a brave exploit and feaſible, they might have ſcoured the Trenches under the ſhelter of our Walls: Neither did the Enemy take care to prevent them by turning the mouthes of any one piece of Ordnance upon the entry of the entrenchment. Nevertheleſſe the croſſe event did much amaze them, that a ſmall party ſhould runne up to their Head-quarters, force their men, and recover back without a ſenſible loſſe. Certainely the care of a higher providence preſerved and brought off thoſe many ſeverall parties, when the vanquiſhing of any one of them muſt needs run the City upon extream hazard; for our whole ſtrength remained upon the works day and night, except the reſerve of a hundred and twenty men at the maine Guard. One rare and ſlender Rank were to receive the ſtorme without ſeconds, yet the ſafety of the whole did require thoſe frequent ſallies, a deſperate remedy to a deſpairing City: not only to caſt back the enemies preparations, but to amaze them, that the Souldiers ſhould be held up in ſuch heigth of reſolution, and cauſe them to expect more hot ſervice from within the works: Our men likewiſe were to be kept in the heat of action to prevent the fainting of the ſpirits: Their hands alſo imbrued in bloud did the more enrage them. Nor by ſafer meanes could they overcome the terrour, which by the reputation of the Kings Army might poſſeſſe their minds: The Enemy were kept waking by continuall Alarums to

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waſte and weary them: And twas the care of the Governour to cauſe a perpetuall noiſe; that whenſoever their Cannon had been ſilent for a while, one or two of our Guns gave fire to diſturbe the calm, and ſignifie to the Country that we were yet alive; for the beſiegers ever and anon ſcattered reports of the taking of the Town, with a purpoſe to prevent our reliefe. All things within did preſage a deliverance. The ſadneſſe of the times did not cloud the countenance of the people, they beheld their fortunes with a clear brow, and were deliberate and chearfull in the endeavours of ſafety. No great complainings were heard in our Streets, no diſcontent ſeized on the Souldiers, at other times prone to mutiny; men of ſuſpected fidelity did not faile in action; Every valuable perſon was active in his own place: The uſuall outcryes of women were not then heard, the weakeneſſe of whoſe ſexe was not overcome by the terrible Engines of warre. And our becalmed ſpirits did implore divine aſſiſtance without confuſion. The Governour perſonally performed, ready at every turning of affaires, and gracing the buſineſſe with ſpeech and geſture; upon the leaſt intimation of diffidence he pretended rationall hopes of ſucceſſe, adding withall that our late yeelding could not mollifie the Kings Army, and if in the cloſe we muſt needs be loſt, no ſurer meanes of ſafety then by the utmoſt gallantry to conſtraine honourable conditions.

The Enemy ſtill prepared for a generall ſtorm, mean while ſeeking to waſte our Magazine, which they knew muſt needs ſuddenly fayl, expended their own ſtore, and dayly acted to the terrour of the inhabitants; ſhooting Granadoes, Fire-bals, and great ſtones out of their Morter-peeces, and had now planted a Battery on the Southſide weſtward, unto which the lower part of the Town was open. Thence in one night they ſhot above twenty fiery melting hot iron Bullets, ſome eighteen pound weight, others two and twenty pound weight, which were ſeen to fly through the ayre like the ſhooting of a ſtarre. They paſſed through ſtables, and ricks of hay, where the fire by the ſwiftneſſe of the motion did not catch, and falling on the tops of houſes, preſently melted the leads, and ſunk through; but all the skill and induſtry of the enemy could not ſet one houſe on fire.

They ſtill playd their great ſhot againſt the wals, and wrought hard

hard in filling up the Moat with faggots and earth at the place where they battered, where alſo they built a Gallery over the head of the Trench, the breadth of foure abreaſt; in the ſhelter whereof they had almoſt workt themſelves over the Moat. Then we found that they had ſunk a Mine under the Eaſt Gate; whereupon the Governour commanded a Counter-mine in two places, but finding the Springs, left off, conceiving for the ſame reaſon the endeavour of the enemy to no purpoſe. To diſcover or interrupt this work, a Serjeant with five daring men were put forth at a port hole in the dungeon at the Eaſt gate, came cloſe to the mouth of their mine, took off the board that covered it, and for a while viewed the miners. One of theſe caſt in a hand-Granado amongſt them, whilſt the foure musketiers played upon them as they ran forth, and with the noiſe of our men from the walls gave the whole leager a ſtrong alarm, and crept in at the port-hole without harm. Wherefore diſcovering that the enemy notwithſtanding the ſprings, went on with their mine, we renewed our countermine; for they had ſunk a great depth under the moat, and extreamly toyled in drawing up the ſpring water, till at length they had gotten under the gate that our miners could heare them work under them, and did expect to ſpoyle them by pouring in water, or ſtealing out their powder.

For a remedy to this miſchiefe, and withall the enemy having planted ſtore of Canon baskets within half musketſhot of the Eaſt gate point blank, intending a battery there, upon the ſpringing of their mine; We made a very ſtrong work croſſe the ſtreet with a large trench before it, and filled it with water, intending to raiſe it up to the Eaves of the houſes, and to plant ſome Cannon there: we anſwered their ſeverall approaches by ſo many counter works. A ſconce was built upon a riſing ground that looked into their trenches, where we could plant foure piece of Ordnance to cleare within the wals a ground called *the Friars Orchard* ſouthward, and ſcoure their flank upon their entrance at the Eaſt gate, and ſo northward. Alſo an inner work was drawn from the ſouth ſide along the middle of the Orchard, and all paſſages ſtopt between that and the Eaſt port. And to hinder their gallery we began to undermine for a place to put forth a peece of Ordnance at the bottom of the wall, to batter the flank thereof; which was perfected

and

and a ſaker there placed. Commanded men were drawn out upon the walls, Granadoes provided, and when the great Gun played upon the gallery, the musketiers ſent plenty of ſhot, and caſt divers Granadoes into their trenches; in the mean while (they firing their Ordnance againſt the top of the wall) we cut off a maine beame of the gallery with our bolt ſhot. But the ſame day the enemy had ſunk a piece againſt the port-hole of our mine, and forced us to withdraw the ſakre, yet we caſt them back three dayes work.

And becauſe all this ſide of the Town had no flankers, nothing did more offend the enemy in their entrenchments then an old Barne at a corner point, near the North Port, in which was mounted a Peece that commanded three ſeverall wayes, and obliquely looked into their Trenches, and oft times did good execution upon the pioners. This was the chiefe ſtrength of that ſide, conceived the weakeſt part of the Town. Vpon the Key head an haife moon was rayſed, with a breaſt-work upon *Seavern* ſide under the Caſtle, and the river chained, to defend an aſſault from thoſe high grounds beyond the river, which was ever feared by thoſe within.

His Majeſty conſtantly reſiding at a miles diſtance, would not ſolemnly invite by publique Summons, leſt hee ſhould detract from the honour of his enterprize: Nevertheleſſe, thoſe about him dealt underhand by ſundry advertizements of the Kings diſpleaſure, threatnings, perſwaſions, and many intimations of poſſible grace and favour. Some of our neighbours in their own names deſired admiſſion to a conference, and perſwaded the Surrender of the City, in regard of the great power and terrible menacings of the enemy, with the ſmall hopes and in a manner impoſſibility of reliefe; adding withall the heavy burthens under which the Countrey groaned. The Governour made anſwer, that we were ſufficiently conſcious of our own ſtrength, and the ground of our reſolution, and that we did not think our ſelves obliged to the enemy for the hopes and offers of favour. Theſe manifold perſwaſions made the beſieged more obſtinate, and enabled them to underſtand themſelves as a people worthy of entreaty, a prize worth the purchaſe, and in no wiſe loſt or deſperate, the enemies themſelves being Iudges.

As the ſouldiers within were heated with their own performance, ſo the enemy without being wafted in a lingering deſign

before

before the houre of ſervice came grew feeble in their own thoughts and to us contemptible. Our common ſouldiers took to themſelves a liberty to revile, preverted and confounded the enemy with the ſelf-ſame language in which they were wont to abuſe and ſcorne our party; which contumely, though it begets a more deadly hatred and deſire of revenge in generous mindes, at that time did deject exceedingly and debaſe the ſpirits of their private ſouldiers, who had never performed one gallant atchievement, and to whom the ſturdineſſe of our men was well known. The ſlowneſſe of their deſign in that form of a leaguer, proceeded from the deſire of ſaving their foot, with this preſumption, that there was no power to raiſe the ſiege; which confidence deceived them, till too late; for their foot, after thoſe many knocks, and the firſt fury ſpent, were not ſo capable of the ſervice, without the help of many tedious preparations. Wherefore beſides their mine and battery, they framed great ſtore of thoſe unperfect and troubleſome engines to aſſault the lower parts of the City. Thoſe engines ran upon wheels, with planks musket proof, placed on the Axel-tree, with holes for musketſhot, and a bridge before it, the end whereof (the wheels falling into the ditch) was to reſt upon our breaſtworks.

Our reliefe ſeemed ſlow, and the ſtraitneſſe of the ſiege debarred all intelligence. Only two Spies which we ſent out, returned from *Warwick*, and brought newes of the advance of the Lord Generall. The report of his Excellency, who then lay under a cloud, did give no great aſſurance. The truth is, the ſenſe of the depth of our diſtreſſe did not reach us: Sir *William Waller*, upon whom the Citizens of *London* caſt their favour, had not the reliques of an Army. The Generals Army crumbled away: the malignants of *London* fomented tumults in the City, and inſurrections in *Kent* diſtracted the buſineſſe. The houſe of Lords voted a treaty with the King, the houſe of Commons debated the matter. The reſolution of *Glouceſter* turned the ſtream, whoſe ſuccour was reſolved upon as the Kingdoms ſafety. The recruit of the Army was too ſlow for the ſervice. The London trained Bands or none, muſt relieve us; but could not agree who ſhould undertake the buſineſſe. *Eſſex* was not favoured, but the more prudent ſaw that he muſt be the man. That none might decline the ſervice upon whom the lot fell, the ſhop-windows were commanded to be ſhut up, and

trading for a time ſuſpended. The expedition was haſted in every pulpit carried on with continuall faſting and prayer: an Army was framed in an inſtant, and marched with incredible ſwiftneſſe. Prince *Rupert* with the greateſt part of the Kings horſe drew from *Glouceſter* to retard their march, but ſtill appearing in the Van did no more then drill them along. The enemy ſtayed before us till the laſt houre, judging every particle of time a great advantage not knowing what a moment might bring forth. They within not ſatisfied with the former intelligence, ſent out two other Spies with a double ſignall, firſt one fire on the ſide of a hill to ſignifie their eſcapes, and two fires on the ſame place if they heard good newes; which latter was accordingly performed and beheld by us.

The fifth of *September* was appointed for a publike Faſt, to be kept by ſuch as might be ſpared from labour. This day we diſcovered their carriages marching from the leaguer, and their horſe and foot marching after; yet we were not confident of the raiſing of the ſiege till the men were drawn out of the trenches, and the reer-guard fired their huts. We then perceived that God had ſent a deliverance, and that in the cloſe of a ſolemn Faſt, as a gracious returne of prayer.

This evening the Lord Generall came to the brow of the hills ſeven miles from the Town, and fired a warning piece, but by reaſon of the contrary winds the report was not heard, neither did the newes reach us that night. Wherefore we did not venture upon the Reere of the enemy with our ſlender and wearied forces, but kept as ſtrong and watchfull guards as any time before; preſuming that relieſe at hand had raiſed the enemy, yet ſuſpecting that in point of honour they would attempt ſomething worthy of a Royall Army. But abiding before us to the laſt extremity, they were driven away with great confuſion, after ſo many vowes of victory and revenge, when their mines, batteries, and engines were in readineſſe. This hurry preſerved the Countrey from injury, which by them was devoted to ruine. His Majeſty was forced to leave the Town behinde him, and conſtrained to a tedious march in that tempeſtuous rainy night; their carriages were not got up the hills till the next morning, which diſtraction was not known to us: and the Generals Army was tired with long and continuall marches. The admirable care of providence was beheld in the ſeaſon

of

of our relieſe, when all things were prepared by the enemy for a generall ſtorme; our ammunition conſumed, but three ſingle barrels of powder left in our magazine, and not ſo much more elſewhere: in the little harm done by their Cannon, and Morterpieces, that ſent amongſt us ſo many terrible meſſengers. Our loſt men taken or ſlain, did not amount to the number of fifty, and of theſe but two Officers were ſlain, Captain *Harcus* and the Governours Enſign; yet we killed of the Enemy (who never ventured an aſſault) above a thouſand men, by the loweſt confeſſion. The King expended much in Ammunition, Engines, and keeping together the diſcontented Souldiers, beſides the loſſe of his pretious time in that full tyde of Victory. Here was a bound ſet to the ſwelling of thoſe proud waves, and the rock that ſplit that Army; when the Queen was layd to be tranſported with paſſion becauſe her counſell was not followed, who adviſed the King to wave *Glouceſter* and advance for *London*, whilſt the Parliament had no Army in the field, the number of Malignants in the City did equall the reſt, began to rayſe tumults, and the actions of State were unreſolved. This City diverted the enemies thoughts from that rare opportunity, which not ſo conſcious of the Kingdoms weakneſſe, held up beyond reaſon, and gave a breathing time to the State to effect its own relieſe. Great was the failing of the Kings hopes in this defeat, who by the gaining of this town, would have held an undivided uninterrupted command, and the granary of the Kingdome in the heart of his Country, on the Weſt bounded with the Sea, cleare through the middle of the Land to the Northerne parts, where alſo the Earl of *Newcaſtles* Army prevailed, and in breadth reaching from the utmoſt *Wales* to the *London* Aſſociation, and backed with *Ireland*, with whom an Accommodation was then preparing.

Nevertheleſſe the raiſing of the ſiege was but an unperfect deliverance. The ſucceſſe of the Generals Army with the ſupply of our wants were to make it compleat. For the enemy continually lay at our doores, commerce was clean taken away, and we farre diſtant from the fountaine of future ſupplies; Wherefore during the ſtay of his Excellency, parties of horſe were continually ſent abroad to fetch in proviſions out of the Enemies quarters, and Malignants eſtates. The Granary was quickly filled. The

Generall left three Culverins, forty ſingle barrels of Gunpowder, and ſet the Garriſon in order.

The *London* Train-Bands and Auxiliaries ſuppoſing the work already done, and the date of their Commiſſion expired, earneſtly contended homewards, yet muſt they break their way through the Kings Army, and give him ſome further blow to ſecure and perfect the reliefe of this Garriſon; for ſo confident were the enemy of their own ſtrength, that many thought his Majeſty ill-adviſed in not fighting with the Earle of *Eſſex* neare *Glouceſter*: wherefore the Generall was to ſecure his retreat, to take heed leſt he be penned up in theſe parts, and with that ſpeed made after the Kings Army (which by this time had gotten ſome miles in the Van of our Army) that ſome horſe and foot out of the remote quarters marched above thirty miles before they reſted. They came up before *Cirenceſter* where the King had left a ſtrong party. The forlorne hope entred the Town whilſt the reſt ſurrounded it, killed the Sentinell ſleeping, marched up to the Market Place, without oppoſition (the enemy ſuppoſing them Prince *Maurice* his Forces, that night expected) till they entred the houſes and ſurprized them in bed, took foure hundred men, and thirty Cart-loades of bread, cheeſe, and other proviſions, a great reliefe in a waſted Countrey, and the only ſupport of the Souldiers againſt the Battle at *Newbery*.

The ſucceſſe of which Battell did cloſe up with honour, that happy and gallant undertaking of the Lord Generall, and the Citizens of *London*: As brave a ſervice as theſe Warres can ſhew forth, enobled by its wonderfull riſe, lively progreſſe, nimble expedition, admirable fortune and honourable concluſion. Notwithſtanding his Excellency had hereby diſabled and broken the Kings Army, and ſecured the Garriſon of *Glouceſter* from a ſudden reverſe; yet his own Army was ſorely bruiſed, and retiring to *London*, left but a little burthen upon the Enemy on that ſide. By which meanes they were free to moleſt theſe parts, and this Garriſon left to bear the brunt, provide for it ſelfe, and run the danger though not of an other ſiege, yet of blocking up and ruine by the ſpoyle of our Countrey, which that party decreed to deſtruction; and the Enemy at the doore and the diſtance of our friends did threaten no leſſe. Not a man could be left by the Generall to encreaſe our ſtrength,

nor

nor money to content the Souldier; there was only an aſſurance of help from the Parliament, when the arreares of Officers and Souldiers were large; the Governour made certaine propoſitions to the Parliament concerning the ſupport of this place; That ſince at ſuch a diſtance he could not expect a conſtant ſupply, they would ſend down at once ten thouſand pounds and a thouſand men, farre below the places due; according to the termes of the Souldiers entertainment, might ſet things in a thriving way, and enable the Souldier to act of themſelves without thoſe continuall cravings and out-cryes againſt the State. Vpon which termes the activeneſſe of this Government gave aſſurance of the framing of an Army to maſter the Countrey then enthralled to the enemy, yea, to lie upon the enemies quarters, conſume their ſtore, diſtreſſe their cheiſe Garriſons of *Briſtoll* and *Oxford*, and endanger the reſt as *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, and ſtop their ſupply of men and money. Such a ſtrong beginning had been more then halfe way to the end of the work.

But the State ſeemed to walk in a frugall courſe and deſire a daily dropping of reliefe, rather then to entruſt much, which is not the way of great performance nor can bring to the end of the deſign; when as this rationall adventure might give the encreaſe of an hundredfold: and upon the failing hereof the greateſt miſchiefe could bee no more then the loſſe of that expence. Wherefore they voted a ſupply and raiſed men and moneys in a languiſhing way, that thoſe five hundred liſted for *Glouceſter* were reduced to a fifty, ere they could reach us, and the greateſt part of the money ſquandred away without a ſenſible advantage to this Garriſon.

After *Newbery* fight Sir *William Vavaſour* was ſent to *Hereford*, with a ſtrong party to raiſe Forces in thoſe parts with Commiſſion to command in chiefe in the Countreys of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, and a command from his Majeſtie to diſtreſſe *Glouceſter* on the Welch ſide, and to Garriſon *Tewkesbury*.

Colonell *Maſſie* was not ſatisfied in keeping his own Garriſon, but eager of continuall ſervice, to deſtroy or diſable the enemy, for which no other place in the Kingdome was conceived capable of the like advantage: Wherefore by himſelfe urged, he ſet upon the

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Parliament with importunate complaints that for lack of ſtrength great opportunities of ſervice to us and diſſervice to them were loſt. And a greater miſchiefe did exerciſe this government, the want of men and money, and ammunition to defend it ſelfe; upon which, extreme ſcarſity of proviſion was like to follow, and in theſe hopes did the enemy bleſſe themſelves; ſo that the advantage and honour of maintaining the City againſt the violence of an Army was like to vaniſh in the lingring death of the place. And the Governour was about to embrace an other command in the Generalls Army, yet reſerving a ſubmiſſion to the Parliaments pleaſure, who required him to continue his ſervice in this Government. This charge was ſurrounded with difficulties and each day brought forth ſome new birth. When the enemy begirt us in their Winter quarters, the hopes of our promiſed ſuccours were paſt without the Convoy of an Army. Not one Gentleman of the Countrey durſt be ſeen to aſſiſt us, no Member of Parliament did reſide here to encourage the buſineſſe. All things reſted upon the Governours ſole care both to ſtore the Garriſon with proviſions, and raiſe money out of that ſmall pittance of the Countrey out of the enemies hands. The diſcontent of the Souldier was now heigthned and ready to cauſe a disbanding. To make good the place was the Parliaments command: and inevitable neceſſity was the cheifeſt law to ſupport it. Wherefore apprehending more miſery then in the late ſiege, the Governor was conſtrained to lay ſome eaſie taxation on the Countrey to ſupply the preſent exigence, whilſt the enemies power extended on all ſides almoſt to the Gates of *Glouceſter*. Hereupon daily complaints were brought before him, that the taxes were unequally rated by the Officers of the ſeverall Pariſhes, that ſuch as were broken by the enemy, were rated as high as if their Eſtates were entire. The Governour repreſented theſe things to the Parliament, earneſtly begged their direction in his intended courſe, which by them was not in one ſyllable contradicted: Wherefore at a Councell of Warre the condition of the Countrey was debated upon, and an order made that ſome Officers & Citizens ſhould be intreated as a Committee to hear and rectifie the complaints concerning aſſeſſements, and to uſe that moderation which reaſon did require. Not

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long after a petition was preſented to the Governour in the name of the Countrey, That one Monthly rate without other charge, might be impoſed upon them, likewiſe that the rate might be made according to equity, and the poore ſpared; that the money might bee paid in to the common Treaſurer, whence it ſhould iſſue as neceſſity required, and that a choyce Committee might be appointed to over-ſee all the money rated, received and diſburſed. The Governour to manifeſt his deſire of the peoples ſatisfaction, and that things might bee carryed in a juſt and equall way, ordered by the conſert of a Councell of Warre, that a Committee of Officers, Citizens, and Countrey Gentlemen, ſhould regulate the aſſeſſements of the Countrey according to their deſires. Some of which Gentlemen not long after were of the Committee for theſe Counties by Order of Parliament.

Moreover, this Committee moved at a Councell of Warre for a further power to heare and determine ſuch buſineſſes as by the Governours ſpeciall order ſhould be referred unto them, to examine upon oath, and commit all ſuch perſons (Officers and Souldiers only excepted) as ſhould offer contempt; and this they enforced with theſe reaſons: 1. Becauſe there was no Committee of Parliament then in being, nor would any adventure ſuch an undertaking in an oppreſſed and diſtracted Countrey; and the neceſſities of the Garriſon did admit of no delay. 2. That this Committee conſiſting of Souldiers, Citizens and Countrey Gentlemen, would give ſatisfaction both to the Countrey men, who payd their money, when themſelves were acquainted with its neceſſity and diſpoſall; and to the Souldiers, who being privy to the receit of the money and the Countreys indigence, might be contented with a ſlender entertainment: that at once it ſeemed to prevent diſcontent in the Countrey, and mutiny in the Souldier. 3. That the Petitions of the Countrey preſſed upon the Governour in ſuch multitudes, that a great part of his time which might be ſpent againſt the enemy to better purpoſe, was taken up herewith, or many perſons muſt needs be expoſed to injury and oppreſſion. 4. Becauſe all courſe of Law from *Weſtminſter* was then ſtopped,

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not a Lawyer left in the Countrey, no Court of Equity to relieve the oppreſſed, or curb the extremity of the Law, whoſe preſent want was not ſo much in ſetling eſtates and determining right, as in providing for the ſupport of the Garriſon, then like to be ruined; of which the Kings partee had as great a confidence as before the Siege. No Landlord could receive his Rent, no intercourſe of Trade between man and man, whereby to enable them to pay taxations. And for theſe reaſons ſuch an Order by the Councell of Warre was then aſſented unto.

In this the people never groaned under the Governours power; their voluntary ſubmiſſion was a witneſſe of his moderation. And this authority had more of entreaty then conſtraint, only the Sword had ſome influence of feare upon the injurious; the proceedings of the Town-Court not ſuſpended, but ſometimes entreated to forbeare upon equitable conſiderations. And when the Governour began to obſerve ſome derogation from his intentions, by this Committee, he inſtantly ſent a Prohibition. Twas never his thought to rule by the Sword, but in a deſperate caſe by the ſame to cut out a way wherein the rules of Law and Iuſtice might freely paſſe. He was ever unwilling to take the charge upon him, and by ſeverall Letters requeſted the Parliament, that the burthen of Government might be layd upon ſome other; or if that charge muſt reſt upon him, that they would ſend down a Committee, that might take off the former cares, and permit him to look to the well ordering of his Forces for the ſafety of this place, and to enlarge his quarters, that the ſervice here might not bee only to keep *Glouceſter*, but weaken the Enemy, and beget friends daily to the Parliament.

Such was the face of Government within the City, whilſt the Enemy acted his part without, and bore down by force on all ſides. From *Hexeford* Sir *William Vavaſour* with about ſeven hundred horſe and foot marched into *Tewkſbury*, with a purpoſe to garriſon that Town. A wide and open place not eaſy to be held by us, who had neither competent ſtrength nor time to fortify, the Kings forces continually lying upon us. Sir *William* made ſhew of ſetling the Garriſon, ſtyled himſelfe Governour of *Tewkſbury*, invited the Countrey with promiſes of moderation and candor in all his

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proceedings; yet theſe Welch Forces had ſcarce taken up their quarters, but received an Alarum from *Glouceſter*, by a party that went up in a Friggot: And the common ſouldiers partly diſcontented with their Officers, who had often deceived that innocent people, and betrayed them to the Sword; and partly repining for want of pay, fell into a deſperate mutiny, forced their Commanders, choſe rather to be kild then to fight, and conſtrained their flight out of the Town, haſted over *Vpton* Bridge, and did ſcarce look back, till ſafe in their own Countrey: and twas to be ſuſpected that many late knocks had beaten out their ſpirits, but chiefly that they were afraid of this Countrey ayre, in which they could never thrive. By this meanes the excreſcence of Sir *William Vavonſors* government was pared off, and himſelf driven to retire into *Hereford*.

Nevertheleſſe we are cooped up with the enemies garriſons round about, and wholly divided from the reſt of the Parliaments Army. *Sudely* Caſtle was maintained by the Lord *Chandos*, a great ſtop to our entercourſe with *Warwick*, which was the only way of commerce with *London*, that a Scout could not paſſe without extream hazard. *Berkley* Caſtle was held for the King by a Scottiſh Captain, and ſubdued the richeſt part of the County. In the heart of the Forreſt Sir *Iohn Winter* ſtrongly fortified and defended his own Houſe: And now the enemy had put a garriſon into *Beverſtone* Caſtle, reſolving withall not to leave one ſtrong houſe unguarded, both to enlarge their own quarters, and to ſtop our markets and contribution. Our Governour began to look forth, and firſt for want of quarters was enforced to ſend abroad his own Company, which were placed in a defenceable houſe at *Frampton* upon Severn. Theſe were a ſtop to the incurſions from *Berkley*, and furthered the ſafety of that ſide of the Countrey. An hundred and fifty Foot of Colonell *Devereux* his Regiment garriſond a ſtrong houſe at *Preſbury*, within foure miles of *Sudely* Caſtle. Theſe ſorely vexed the enemy in thoſe parts, did a little open the paſſage towards *Warwick*, and the houſe proved a good reſting place in the repaſſe. Another guard was ſet at *Weſtbury* on the edge of the Forreſt, to affront Sir

Iohn Winter, a moſt active enemy, and one chiefe Agent of the Popiſh Faction. Sir *Iohn*, aſſiſted with the Lord *Herberts* Horſe, threatned us out of the Forreſt, and had made a paſſage over *Seavern* at *Newnham*, to afflict thoſe parts beyond the River. Notwithſtanding all this, our ſmall party by continuall action upheld their repute. Some weeks after the raiſing of the ſiege, the Governour marched with his two Troops and two hundred musketiers before *Berkley* Caſtle. The musketiers faced and kept in the enemy, whilſt the Horſe fell into the Countrey beyond to fetch in the perſons of ſome principall malignants, but in ſtead of them met with the Lords *Herberts* Troops, and an hundred and fourty Horſe beſides, which came to relieve the Caſtle. Our Horſe with ſome few musketiers fell upon them, put them to a retreat, and ſlew ſome few without any loſſe to our party, who drew off expecting the opportunity of a greater ſtrength.

About this time Sir *Iohn Winter* entred upon the Government of *Newnham*; whereupon he took the courage to plunder the Villages neare *Glouceſter*: his Horſe came within three miles of the City, and drove away ſtore of the Countrey cattle. The Governour receiving intelligence, drew forth his ſmall number of Horſe not exceeding ſeventy, made after and purſued them to the entrance of their new Garriſon, where they had already ſecured their plunder: in the retreat five Troops of the Lord *Herberts* Regiment fell on the reare; our men drew up in a narrow lane ready to receive the charge, fired upon them, and put them to a running retreat. An Officer with twelve Troopers made the purſuit, took one horſe colours, and ſome priſoners, and killed a Cornet, and Quartermaſter, which event made Sir *Iohn Winter* for preſent quit that government with much diſtraction.

At that time there was no lofty ſtage of action, becauſe the preſent enemy did yeeld no gallant opportunity. Sir *Iohn Winter* was wiſe for himſelfe, nimble in inferiour buſineſſes, delighted rather in petty and cunning contrivance then open gallantry, referred all his induſtry to his own houſe, or the limits of the Forreſt, vexed his neighbours more then weak-

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ned his enemy, and advanced the Catholike Cauſe no other way then by the plague and ruine of the Countrey.

On the other ſide of the City the enemy was imboldned to erect new Governments at *Tedbury* and *Wotton Underedge*. Theſe did invite the Governours march that way, who withall had his eye upon *Beverſtone* Caſtle newly garriſond, and commanding the rich Clothiers of *Stroodwater*: hither he advanced with a party of three hundred foot and foure ſcore horſe. Theſe horſe ſent before were ſo formidable to the enemy at *Tedbury*, that the Governour *Horatio Cary* with his whole Regiment were put to flight, and diſſipated with the loſſe of fourteene of their men ſlaine and taken priſoners.

Colonell *Maſſey* brought up his men and two Sakers againſt *Beverſton* Caſtle, where having ſurrounded it, hee planted his Guns within Piſtoll ſhot of the Gate, and gave fire ſeverall times. Fifty Musketiers ran up to the Gate at noone-day and fixed a Petarre, which nevertheleſſe failed in the execution. Thoſe from within threw Granodoes amongſt our men, but hurt none, who although thereby forced from the Gate, yet they ran up the ſecond time, being open to the full ſhot of a ſecure enemy, and brought of the Petarre with much gallantry. The deſign was not feazible for a quick diſpatch; for the Gate was barricado'd within, the night came on, and thoſe remote parts did promiſe no ſecurity to ſo ſmall a party; likewiſe the ſtate of the City required them nearer home: wherefore after twelve houres the party was drawn off, and in the retreat advanced towards *Wotton Underedge*, where the enemy had placed a kind of temporary Garriſon with a Regiment of horſe; they prepared for the comming of our Forces, drew up on a Hill before the Town to face them, and at night retreated to their Garriſon; Where our men arrived ſomewhat late, and found the enemy all mounted, fell upon them and put them to flight, of whom about ſix were ſlaine, and twelve taken priſoners, the reſt eſcaping to *Briſtoll*.

The next day by an over-ruling hand of providence, our party was led back to *Glouceſter*, contrary to the hope of

Sir *Iohn Winter* and his Complices. Theſe having intelligence of the Governours abſence with a *ſtronge* party, and ſuppoſing the Garriſon thereby weakned, ſent to all the quarters of the Forreſt, *Monmouth* and *Herefordſhire*, to draw together and advance for the ſurpriſall of *Glouceſter*. It was afterwards ſuſpected a complotment, to be managed by the aſſiſtance of Malignants in the City. Late at night the Governour had notice of the enemy in the Forreſt. Thereupon he commanded Captain *Criſpe* to draw fifty Muſketiers from the Guards and march three miles that way, making good a houſe that ſtood on the paſſage. As yet there was no ſuſpition of a Plot, but before our party had paſſed a mile and halfe, they encountred the enemy who were drawn up Horſe and Foot in a broad lane neare *Highnam* Houſe, inſtantly fired upon them, ſlew a Captaine, and ſome foure common ſouldiers. The enemy were amazed at the ſudden and unexpected encounter, forced back with feare, and retreated to *Huntly*, where Sir *Iohn Winter* had ſecured his own perſon: But diſtracted by the ſtrange repulſe, marched off in great confuſion at the approach of fifteene horſe that fell in amongſt the whole Brigade, ſlew ſeven or eight, and took ten priſoners.

This diſcomfited the enemy and daſhed the deſigne; yet the *Hereford* and *Monmouthſhiere* Forces kept their randevouz at *Coford* in the Forreſt, and ſtill threatned the City. No meanes for the reducing of this place is left unattempted, and at this preſent treachery was the grand deſign and over-ruled all their proceedings, and prevented many miſchievous acts of open hoſtility, which might eaſily have deſtroid us; for divers Malignant Gentlemen of this County went about to caſt this City into extreme poverty and exigence by the Countreys ruine: Wherefore conceiving the preſent enemies not ſufficiently cruell, they importuned his Majeſty that Colonell *Charles Gerrard* might quarter upon us with his Brigade, to devour, ſpoyle and burn, beſides the expectation of all the miſchiefe the Lord *Herbert* and *Vavaſour* can doe. But this malitious councell and inſtigation though moſt opportune for the Kings purpoſe,

purpoſe, was afterwards croſſed by their own party, waiting upon the ſucceſſe of a cloſe deſign.

About this time was the act of Pacification made by the King with the Iriſh Rebels, which began to undeceive the world, and wipe of the Varniſh of the former Oathes and Proteſtations. The world could not believe that any command or power could ſo ſoone allay and quell thoſe Iriſh ſtormes, but that word which raiſed them up: Then did the effect declare the cauſe of thoſe rare and ſlow Proclamations againſt that bloudy Rebellion, and ſtrange intercepting of reliefe ſent from the State to the diſtreſſed Proteſtants. The greateſt admirer of the Kings Declarations could judge no leſſe then that thoſe Rebells did better comply with his intentions then the Parliament of *England*; ſince his Majeſty having two enemies, is reſolved to make peace with one to cruſh the other; he will fall in with that party that carries leaſt contradiction to his maine deſigne; and this was the Rebell of *Ireland*; whoſe chiefe aime likewiſe his Majeſty muſt not abhorre: for there can bee no laſting compliance without a mutuall engagement. Beſides, the heads of that Rebellion were brought over not as acceſſaries, but principals in the Kings warre, and admitted to the ſecret Councell. And to colour the Pacification, the loſſe of that Kingdome and all the ſufferings of the Engliſh Proteſtants were charged upon the Parliament. The Engliſh Forces in *Ireland* were poſſeſt with the opinion of neglect in the State, and were taken off the perſuite of a juſt revenge upon thoſe curſed Rebels to warre againſt their native Countrey, and teare the bowels, of the mother that bare them, and therein act a part, and caſt in their lot with the Rebels themſelves.

Some of theſe Iriſh Forces landed at *Briſtoll*, and thence fell down upon *Glouceſterſhire*: Colonell *Min*, and Sir *Williams St. Leger*, with both their Regiments, making up eight hundred or a thouſand Foot, and a hundred Horſe, all reſolved men, with eight Piece of Ordnance, advanced to *Thornbury*. Colonell *Maſſey* proclaimed entertainment to all ſuch as would tender their ſervice to the Parliament, and many private ſouldiers reſenting

reſenting the difference of the cauſe came over daily. About the twentieth of *December*, a party of two hundred horſe and Dragoones commanded by Captaine *Backhouſe*, were deſigned to beat up their quarters at *Wotton*, where they were lately arrived from *Thornbury*: Wherefore the party advancing thither, ſuddenly fell in among them, and found eight hundred men, charged up to the maine Guard, and for a while were maſters of foure Piece of Ordinance, but over-matched and borne down by their numbers, were forced to retreat, yet having firſt ſlaine, wounded, and taken many of them without the loſſe of a man. At the ſame time ſome of Colonell *Vavaſours* Forces undertook to ſettle at *Upton* upon *Seaverne*, but at the firſt ſhew of an approach from *Glouceſter* quitted thoſe quarters.

Once more doe the clouds gather round about, the ſtorm threatned by the enemies fury, and more violently driven by the malice of ſome Countrey Gentlemen begins to ariſe; The Malignant Gentlemen of *Coſwold* provide Armes, and garriſon ſtrong Houſes. Forces from *Oxford* were expected at *Painſewick* and *Stroud*; the Iriſh were to lie on this ſide *Berkely*, the Lord *Herbert* and Sir *Iohn Winter* in the Forreſt, the Lord *Chandos* at *Cheltenham*, Sir *William Vavaſour* and Sir *Walter Pie* at *Tewkesbury*, ſo that by them our deſtruction is decreed and ſeemes as a thing done.

Every corner of the Country is peſtered with the enemies Garriſons, as *Newneham*, *Lidney*, *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Dimmock*, *Newent*, *Highleaden*, *Tainton*, *Tewkesbury*, *Sudely*, *Saperton*, *Beverſton* and *Berkely*. Oppoſite to theſe was the Governour conſtrained to erect petty Garriſons, as many and as neare as poſſible; for the Kings Forces were againe advanced out of *Herefordſhire* with a greater ſtrength and well prepared. Sir *William Vavaſour*, Sir *Walter Pie*, and Colonell *Wroughton* are arrived at *Tewkesbury*, and began to fortifie, having a great power with them till the Town was ſetled, and made ſtrong; yet ſtill diſturbed by continuall Alarums from *Glouceſter*, though the Land-flouds hindred our deſign upon them. The Iriſh Regiments roſe from *Wotton*, and thence made

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over the Hills for *Tewkesbury*. And becauſe their march was interrupted by our parties, the Lord *Chandos* horſe joyned with them to ſtrengthen and ſecure their advance to *Cheltenham*; whether they came with foure ſmall Piece of Ordnance. Our men ſtill flirted upon them. And a Party of Horſe and Dragoones commanded by Major *Gray*, fell that night into *Charlton Kings*, and had ſurprized the Lord *Chandos* in his quarters, had he not made a private eſcape, where the ſearch after him cauſed the loſſe of ſeven or eight private ſouldiers; yet they ſlew ſome of the enemy, took ten priſoners and ſome few horſe. The next day the Horſe and Foot bended their courſe to *Tewkesbury*; our men waited upon the march, and kept them up cloſe, that thoſe parts of the Countrey received but little dammage; when theſe had joyned with the other Regiments, they were ſuppoſed to make neare upon two thouſand ſix hundred Horſe and Foot.

After a little ſtay, a part of theſe forces were drawn off towards *Warwickſhire*, to joyne with the enemy that there waited the intercepting or ſurprizall of our ſupplies from *London*, then long and earneſtly expected and noiſed abroad, our powder being welnigh ſpent, and neceſſity conſtrianing us to uſe a kind of match made of Baſt. Sir *Walter Pies* Foot, and Col. *Wroughtons* Horſe remained at *Tewksbury* to block up the City on that ſide, in and about which Town fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot were conſtantly quartered; Colonell *Waſhingtons* Regiment kept Garriſon at *Eveſham*, and a Regiment of Horſe lay at *Parſhore*, beſides a conſiderable ſtrength at *Sudely*. Theſe thought to ſwallow up our approaching ſuccours, or if they did not come, ſpeedily to compell us to yeeld up the City; for it was reported with the enemy, and believed by many, that we ſuffered extream penury.

And though proviſions were not much wanting, being in a fat Countrey, yet the reall exigences of the Garriſon were great; for lack of pay the diſcontents of the Souldiers were deſperate and endleſſe. In moſt of the Officers a generall neglect of duty, who for the leaſt check would throw up their

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Commiſſions, to the Governours great diſcontent and trouble. Many inferiour Officers forſook us, and common Souldiers ranne to other places that yielded a large and conſtant entertainment, and required leſſe ſervice; whilſt honeſt and gallant men that did not deſert their Colours, were expoſed to miſery and want; yet could we not want men, who daily offered themſelves to the ſervice, had wee moneys to pay them. Neither had wee any power of men to raiſe moneys for the Garriſons maintenance. Our out-guards as *Presbury*, *Wesbury*, *Eſſington*, *Frampton*, *Froſter*, ſet to preſerve the Countrey, and keep the Markets open, did eat up the greater part of the Contribution, and conſume our men and ammunition, beſides the daily ſending out of parties. Twas a kinde of ſhifting life and wonderfull, that the Officers command ſhould finde the leaſt meaſure of obedience. Some Officers did expend their own meanes to keep their Companies entire; the Governour was neceſſitated at his own charge to billet above threeſcore Souldiers, beſides the charge of a Troop. The Countrey was impoveriſhed, the Commiſſion of Exciſe was not ſetled, and brought in no conſiderable ſumme. The Citizens were reſtrained of Trade, and the wayes of Commerce ſtopped up; and therefore at preſent they were quite left to the Garriſon. Beſides the ſlowneſſe and low reports of our ſuccours did exceedingly diſ-hearten the people. Many Countrey Gentlemen that were not the Confidents of the contrary Faction, were about to comply with this Government, eſpecially upon the Parliaments Declaration of pardon; but the notice of thoſe ſlender ſupplies, and the thought of the States ſuppoſed neglect, turned them off, and made them more violent againſt us. For this laſting ſuſpenſe and bondage under two parties did vex them: wherfore his Majeſty was again importuned, to deſtroy and fire the Countrey, if he could not lodge his forces ſo neare as to block us up.

The Garriſon nevertheleſſe did not only defend its own territories, but made ſundry adventures and inrodes upon the Enemies

nemies quarters, ſtaved off, and kept them within their bounds. The Governour had built a Friggot for ſervice upon the River, to ſecure the Countrey near *Glouceſter*, on that ſide *Seavern*, becauſe the Enemy commanded greateſt part of the River, and landed at their pleaſure upon our quarters, from *Briſtoll* and *Wales*. This Friggot was ſent down *Seavern* manned with Sea-men and a party of Souldiers, for whatſoever attempt ſudden opportunity ſhould offer; and arriving at *Chepſtow*, our musketteers haſted aſhore, and entred the Town, where they ſurprized moſt of the Officers of Colonell *Oneales* Regiment, rayſed under the command of the Lord *Herbert*. Theſe never dreamed of an enemy from *Glouceſter*, in that corner of the Land, at ſuch a diſtance. And this was the advantage of the ſervice, that by the ſurprizall of the Officers, it prevented the rayſing of that Regiment of horſe which ſhortly after would have plagued the Countrey. Our men having ſecured their priſoners, and ready to make homewards, another prize fell into their hands, where they took a Veſſell laden from *Briſtoll* with Oyle, Wine, Sugar, and other commodities. Theſe little ſervices were anſwerable to the times, and upheld the eſteem of the Garriſon in that low ebbe. This Expedition gave an Alarum to *Briſtoll*, and all *Wales*, who to prevent the like inrode, ſent up divers Friggots to guard the River.

At this time Sir *William Vavaſour* began to appeare from *Tewkſbury*, and made an attempt upon *Bodington Houſe*, a petty Garriſon of ours, only to preſerve the Countrey. Hither he came up with five hundred foot and two peeces of Ordnance, fired his Gunnes againſt the Houſe, and engaged himſelfe in an aſſault. The place was maintayned by them within till a ſmall party drew from *Glouceſter*, the report of which (at three miles diſtance) cauſed Colonell *Vavaſour* to draw off and return back to *Tewkesbury*, with the loſſe of eight or ten men before the Houſe. Neither did *Vavaſour* ſeem to act with that violence, which the out-ſide of the enemies deſign did look for: whether retarded by the dulneſſe of nature, or the notice of ſome cloſe contrivance. However, the ſlowneſſe

and ill ſucceſſe of his actions rendred him obnoxious to the jealouſies of his own Party; which ſuſpition was eaſily encreaſed by the intercourſe of civility between him and Colonell *Maſſie*, when the known fidelity and conſtant indeavours of the one could inable him without offence to his own ſide to diſport with an enemy in ſuch complements, as the other had not the liberty to uſe. Such neglected paſſages have a great weight in the ballance of reputation and honour: ſince the minde is not revealed by it ſelfe, and wiſe men as well as fooles oft-times have only the event to guide their judgements.

On the other ſide of the Town, we had continuall skirmiſhes with Colonell *Veale* newly made Governour of *Berkly* Caſtle, and aſſiſted with the Lord *Inchequeens* Regiment of Horſe. This enemy was no way formidable nor miſchievous in any thing ſave the plunder of the Countrey, by whom hee was oft-times beaten back and kept in awe by the aſſiſtance of *Frampton* garriſon. The Church at *Newnham* was againe fortified and defended by Sir *Iohn Winter* with a ſufficient ſtrength of men, and foure Pieces of Ordnance, whence hee might runne up to the Gates of *Glouceſter*, rob the Countrey and take mens perſons at pleaſure, only we kept a guard at *Arlingham* to hinder his paſſage over *Seavern*.

Colonell *Min* lay ſtrong at *Newent*, *Highleaden*, and *Tainton*: The Governour could doe little on that ſide, only he placed a Garriſon at *Hartpury* Court, both to preſerve *Coſſelawne*, and to endeavour the engagement of Colonell *Min*. Our Garriſon at *Frampton* was removed to *Slimbridge* within foure miles of *Berkley*; we had other guards likewiſe at *Eſſington* and *Froſter*, to preſerve and enable the people to contribution. Thus was the City peſtered on every hand, and fetched its livelihood out of the fire, with continuall hazard, forcing the enemies quarters, and defending its own; parties were daily drawn out by the Governour, who then could not aime at victory, nor expect any great performance, though the common people repined that he did not alwayes conquer, when it was conqueſt enough to keep the enemy in action, and prevent their extravagances,

to beare up the hearts of our friends, and ſignifie to the world that we were yet alive. Though the Governour was not invited abroad, yet he ſtrove to make opportunities according to the ſtock of Ammunition that was left him; that councells might ſpring out of the midſt of action. He drew out upon *Tainton* with two hundred Musketiers, and with a hundred horſe faced the houſe only to keep in or amaze them, but when the horſe marched off, ſome of their Troopes fell on the Reareguard and charged the Governour, who re-encountred and charged home ſome diſtance before the reſt of the Troop, and by the breaking of the curb, his horſe carryed him amongſt the enemies Troopes, with whom for a while he grappled, and was reſcued by the gallantry of a common Trooper, by which time our Musketiers were brought up, and beat them back without loſſe to us.

The Governour chooſed rather to make work for the enemy, and to ſeek him in his own quarters, then lie at home to expect the challenge; yet did he play a wary game and though zealous of honour, yet more true to the maine chance and tender of the lives of men: wherefore hee advanced againe with foure hundred Musketiers and fifty horſe, came before *Tainton*, and with a ſmall party faced the houſe, having laid ſome Ambuſcado's with a purpoſe to allure them into the ſnare, and cut off their men as well to encourage the Countrey as weaken the enemy, but they did not adventure out. When we drew thence, our men beheld a faire body of horſe at *Highleaden*, whereupon a forlorn hope of our Musketiers with twenty horſe advanced upon them, and found their Horſe and Foot drawn out of *Highleaden* Houſe: Theſe were to joyn with Colonell *Min*, who at that inſtant was marched out of *Newent*, with a purpoſe to fall on *Hartpury* Garriſon. Here at the firſt ſome few of our horſe gave the charge, hurried the enemy and beat up their Ambuſcadoes: then they drew out their whole Garriſon and fell on; Their horſe did not ſtand to it, but with their foot there was an hot skirmiſh almoſt an houre: And though our ſeconds were ſlow in comming up yet did the forlorn hope drive them from hedge to hedge, and after a while our body

comming on beat them in, and purſued them up to the very houſe, took ſome few priſoners, and came off with the loſſe only of two men.

Such multitudes of the Kings Forces lay upon us to oppreſſe the Countrey and intercept our reliefe, that they were extremely ſtraitned of quarter, and enforced to look forth for livelihood. Whereupon two thouſand Horſe and Foot marched from *Tewkesbury* to *Painſewick* to gather contribution, and rob the Countrey about *Stroudwater*: The Governour drew out two hundred Musketiers with an hundred horſe, and marched to the top of *Bruckthrop* Hill expecting the enemy, whom he found divided into three bodies and himſelfe borne down by their multitude, for whilſt two parties faced him the third ſtole down an hollow lane, and had almoſt ſurrounded him unawares by the negligence of the Scouts, ſo that our whole body was brought into great danger, driven to a ſudden and confuſed retreat, and the Governour himſelfe, left deeply engaged; yet moſt of our men got off, being preſerved only by the gallantry of a few reſolved men that ſtood in the breach; and of them Captaine *George Maſſie* ſtriving to retard the purſuit, grapp'ed with three together hand to hand, received a ſore wound in the head, and was happily reſcued by a Serjeant of the company; of ours, two Lievtenants and ſixteen private Souldiers were taken priſoners, the reſt in diſorder ran down the ſteep through a rough and narrow lane, and recovered an houſe at the foot of the Hill, where a party was left to make good the retreat, and the enemy durſt not purſue, by which meanes all the bottome was preſerved from ſpoyle; next day they retreated to *Tewkesbury* laden with plunder.

Suddenly after this repulſe, we loſt two ſmall Garriſons at *Weſtbury* and *Huntly*, by the treachery of Captaine *Thomas Davis*, who ſold them at a rate to Sir *John Winter*. This *Davis* commanded the Guard at *Huntly* where himſelfe by night ſome diſtance from the houſe attended the enemies comming, went in before them as friends from *Glouceſter*, gave them poſſeſſion, and having accompliſht that peece of treaſon, immediately marched to *Wesbury* where he was received for a friend, and led

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in his traine of Cavaleers, that both places were ſurprized in two houres, and above eighty men and armes loſt in that great exigence. This Vil'aine was potted on the Gallowes in *Glouceſter*, and the Lord Generall was deſired that his name might ſtand upon the Gibbet in all the Parliament Garriſons

During theſe things, a Treaſon of higher nature was plotted by the Enemy, to a ſelf-deluſion in the cloſe, a greater birth requiring more time to bring forth. It was firſt conceived the nineteenth of November, and for near ten weeks had the prime influence on their whole courſe in theſe parts; and is now ripe for action. All the force they can make from *Oxford*, and the Iriſh are drawn together. The Lord *Herbert*, Colonell *Vavaſour*, and Sir *Iohn Winter* lie upon us, and Prince *Rupert* himſelfe lying at *Newent*, hoping to effect this great Deſign. Fifteen colours of horſe arrived at *Cirenceſter*, and five hundred horſe and foot advanced to *Saperton* and *Muſarden*, within ten miles of this Garriſon. There were of the Enemies forces round about, near ſix or ſeven thouſand.

The failing of their endeavours and hopes in the late ſiege, brought forth a deſpaire of reducing the City by ſtorme, and put them upon the wayes of treachery, who therein illuded themſelves, and were over-acted in their own councels. One *Edward Stanford* an Eſquire and a grand Papiſt, aſſaulted the fidelity of Captain *Backhouſe* once his friend and acquaintance. He preſumed that former friendſhip might make way to admit the plot, and *Backhouſes* power and intereſt in the Governour made it (in his conception) very feaſible. Wherefore in a private letter he tendred the renewing of ancient love, not only to the procuring of the Kings pardon, but a greater advancement and fortune then the condition of thoſe whom he ſerved, could rayſe him to. This might be purchaſed by the delivering of *Glouceſter* into their hands, which was not hard for him to perform conſidering the nature of his employment And the honeſty of the enterprize was grounded on the old proverb, *fallere fallentem non eſt fraus*. An haſty and abrupt temptation and the tempters irrationall confidence did beſool him in the firſt onſet, who knew not either to propoſe or expect ſuch grounds of aſſu-

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rance as the thing did require; but ſet upon a knowing man, without the knowledge of any imbred inclination to treaſon or preſent provocation. Except a ſtrange levity, a minde ſet on miſchief, the conſcience of delinquency, or deſire of revenge, vain glory, or riches, are the ſole aimes of a Traytor, and the hopes of either muſt appear large and certain; but here an attempt is made on ſuch a one who neither by feare was compeld to provide for himſelfe, nor enraged againſt his own party, but acknowledged a preſent felicity in the work in hand: as though it were poſſible to perſwade a man wittingly to contrive his own overthrow.

The Letters were no ſooner received, but communicated to the Governour, who adviſed to embrace the buſineſſe, and hold a correſpondence with that party, practizing that rule by themſelves propounded, for theſe reaſons: Firſt, twas a delight and glory to take them in the ſnare which themſelves had layd; and the advantage was great. 2. That this treaſon (already ſecured) might prevent other conſpiracies againſt the City, ſo long as they had faire hopes of prevailing by this; leſt the contrivance of a ſecond ſhould confound the diſpoſition of the firſt. 3. That the Countrey under the command of this Garriſon, which upon the petition of the malignant Gentry was devoted to deſtruction, might be preſerved, and ſpared by the Enemy, in hope to enjoy the benefit thereof themſelves; for the embracing of this plot did not draw on the Enemy, but held his hand, and ſuſpended the execution of his fury. 4. To ſpin out the plot, and feed their expectation till the Countrey had vented in the markets their ſpare proviſions of Corn and Cattle. 5. That the Enemy poſſeſt and taken up with the gayning of the City, might give the Parliaments Forces in other parts of the Kingdome a greater freedome to execute their deſignes. 6. That a flattering promiſe might allay their fury till the winter were paſt or our reliefe come, and we be able to feed them with harder meat; and that themſelves might taſte the curſed fruits of Treaſon, to a ſelfe-ſhame and confuſion. The Deſign was communicated to Captain *William Singleton* Alderman, and Captain *Read*.

For

For these and the like reasons *Berkhouse* undertook the businesse, and returned an answer in a liberall garb protesting that he honoured his Majesty with his soule, and was ready to perform all reall service. He seemed withall to promote the plot by requiring sworn secrecy, and agreeing upon a trusty messenger: and that he might seem more deeply to relish the matter, catcht hold on the promise of Reward, and required some unquestionable assurance, that he might not play an after-game poorely. Thus the hand is returned upon them by one that strives to maintain the repute of integrity, conceiving it no transgression of Military Honour, to deceive them into a snare by verball equivocation, as well as by a doubtfull action the common way of the Stratagems of Warre. This confident Reply and the palpable discovery of a hidden change, did not render him suspected, but beyond all reason gave the conspirators great contentment, who did not enquire into the conviction and change of his thoughts by due degrees. *Stanford* desired him forthwith to expresse his conceipts, propose the way, and descend unto the particulars of the service, assented to constant intercourse, and assured him that none but the Lord *Digby* should be privy to the Design. Captain *Berkhouse* drew the modell of the plot in this following Letter to Mr *Stanford*.

SIR,

YOV desire my consent to proposall of particular Propositions, and of my Reward: To both which I shall then propose unto you to present to more mature judgements: Whether I may not by drawing out my Troop in an evening (as I can doe at any time) meet with your forces, and bring them in at the gate on the sudden in a moon shine night, and so master the first guard, which may easily be done, and not discerned till too late; my Troop being above three score, who may be all in the reare, and at your mercy though I my selfe shall lead in the force, which cannot give the alarme in the night so soon as to prevent the designe. Whether if I perswade the Governour with a strong party of Horse and Foot upon some designe to lie out all night eight or ten miles distant from the

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rance as the thing did require; but ſet upon a knowing man, without the knowledge of any imbred inclination to treaſon or preſent provocation. Except a ſtrange levity, a minde ſet on miſchief, the conſcience of delinquency, or deſire of revenge, vain glory, or riches, are the ſole aimes of a Traytor, and the hopes of either muſt appear large and certain; but here an attempt is made on ſuch a one who neither by feare was compeld to provide for himſelfe, nor enraged againſt his own party, but acknowledged a preſent felicity in the work in hand: as though it were poſſible to perſwade a man wittingly to contrive his own overthrow.

The Letters were no ſooner received, but communicated to the Governour, who adviſed to embrace the buſineſſe, and hold a correſpondence with that party, practizing that rule by themſelves propounded, for theſe reaſons: Firſt, twas a delight and glory to take them in the ſnare which themſelves had layd; and the advantage was great. 2. That this treaſon (already ſecured) might prevent other conſpiracies againſt the City, ſo long as they had faire hopes of prevailing by this; leſt the contrivance of a ſecond ſhould confound the diſpoſition of the firſt. 3. That the Countrey under the command of this Garriſon, which upon the petition of the malignant Gentry was devoted to deſtruction, might be preſerved and ſpared by the Enemy, in hope to enjoy the benefit thereof themſelves; for the embracing of this plot did not draw on the Enemy, but held his hand, and ſuſpended the execution of his fury. 4. To ſpin out the plot, and feed their expectation till the Countrey had vented in the markets their ſpare proviſions of Corn and Cattle. 5. That the Enemy poſſeſt and taken up with the gayning of the City, might give the Parliaments Forces in other parts of the Kingdome a greater freedome to execute their deſignes. 6. That a flattering promiſe might allay their fury till the winter were paſt or our reliefe come, and we be able to feed them with harder meat; and that themſelves might taſte the curſed fruits of Treaſon, to a ſelfe-ſhame and confuſion. The Deſign was communicated to Captain *William Singleton* Alderman, and Captain *Read*.

For

For theſe and the like reaſons, *Backhouſe* undertook the buſineſſe, and returned an anſwer in a liberall garb, proteſting that he honoured his Majeſty with his ſoule, and was ready to perform all reall ſervice. He ſeemmed withall to promote the plot by requiring ſworn ſecrecy, and agreeing upon a truſty meſſenger: and that he might ſeem more deeply to relliſh the matter, catcht hold on the promiſe of Reward, and required ſome unqueſtionable aſſurance, that he might not play an after-game poorely. Thus the fraud is returned upon them by one that ſtrives to maintayn the repute of integrity, conceiving it no tranſgreſſion of Military Honour, to deceive them into a ſnare by verball equivocation, as well as by a doubtfull action, the common way of the Stratagems of Warre. This confident Reply and the palpable diſcovery of a ſudden change, did not render him ſuſpected, but beyond all reaſon gave the complotters great contentment, who did not enquire into the conviction and change of his thoughts by due degrees. *Stanford* deſired him forthwith to expreſſe his conditions, propoſe the way, and deſcend unto the particulars of the ſervice, aſſented to conſtant intercourſe, and aſſured him that none but the Lord *Digby* ſhould be privy to the Deſign. Captain *Backhouſe* drew the modell of the plot in this following Letter to Mr *Stanford*.

SIR,

YOV deſire my conceit in propoſall of particular Propoſitions, and of my Reward: To both which I ſhall thus propoſe unto you to preſent to more mature judgements: Whether I may not by drawing out my Troop in an evening (as I can doe at any time) meet with your forces, and bring them in at the gate on the ſudden in a moonſhine night, and ſo maſter the firſt guard, which may eaſily be done, and not diſcerned till too late; my Troop being above three ſcore, who may be all in the reare, and at your mercy, though I my ſelfe ſhall lead in the force, which cannot give the alarme in the night ſo ſoon as to prevent the deſigne. Whether if I perſwade the Governour with a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot upon ſome deſigne to lie out all night eight or ten miles diſtant from the

Garriſon

Garriſon (as I know I can doe) and I my ſelfe ſtay at home, in whoſe abſence you may ſafely advance in the evening to the Towns ſide, when I can come out to you, and ſo bring you in under colour of our owne forces. Whether if I finde out a place ſlenderly guarded, and ſomewhat eaſie to come in at, I may draw off the ſentinels upon ſome pretence, as I can do, being known unto them all, and there direct your entrance. Whether if I ſend for hay, and give you notice of the very time of its comming in, which muſt be in the night, I may not after the Carts bring in ſome men as Carters, who may have ſnaphance muskets in the Carts and ſome Dragoons to fall in in the reare of the Carts, who may maſter the firſt guard and poſſeſſe the Ordnance there, and ſo let in both Horſe and Dragoons who with ſuch Ordnance may march through all the ſtreets in the Town. Theſe ſeverall wayes I propoſe for the preſent, but I conceive that thoſe who have been verſed in the taking of Towns may make more choice of Propoſitions, any of which if I apprehend it feazible, I ſhall gladly undertake, or render a reaſon of my diſlike. As for my reward I am right ſenſible of how great concernment the buſineſſe is to your ſide, and although it be utterly againſt my ſpirit to indent before hand, eſpecially with ſuch gallant and noble perſonages; But the ſtraits I have beene put into for lack of money, (having received no pay for my ſelfe from thoſe whom I ſerve) and my eſtate and charge bids me look to that. I ſhall expect two thouſand pound to bee ſecured, two or three hundred whereof I ſhall deſire you as my friend to procure in hand, that I may bee enabled to beare up my port and credit, eſpecially among the common ſouldiers and Vnder-Officers of the Garriſon, to whom I muſt be open handed, and engage affection, that they may be ready at my call. Secondly, to engage mine owne Troop, and to binde ſuch unto me with a ſilver cord, as I ſhall finde fitteſt for my purpoſe; and withall plentifully to reward the entercourſers between you and me, that they may execute our commands with all celerity and truſt. This I leave to your conſideration and mannage, and hope that ere long we ſhall meet to diſcourſe it, when all the world ſhall not know.

R. B.

Theſe

Theſe Propoſitions are ſent to Oxford, entertained by the Kings Cabinet-councell, the Lord *Digby* becomes the great undertaker, and ratifies the propoſall of Captaine *Backhouſe* in the following Letter:

SIR, *You having ſo farre declared your deſires to ſerve His Majeſty unto my very good friend Maſter* Stanford, *I thinke it fit you ſhould now receive ſome more authentick aſſurance of His Majeſties gracious acceptance thereof, then perhaps you will thinke his bare aſſurance to be. Therefore I doe here ſolemnely engage my word unto you both as a miniſter of State, and a Gentleman: that if you ſhall perſorme faithfully what you promiſe there, you ſhall punctually receive immediately after, ſuch a pardon as your ſelfe ſhall deſire, and the ſumme of two thouſand pounds. As for the three hundred you deſire in preſent, ſuch a confidence I will have in your word, that as ſoon as ever I ſhall have received your anſwer to this under your hand, it ſhall be forthwith paid into whatſoever place you ſhall appoint, or to what perſon. As for the particular waies of effecting our deſigne, thoſe you propoſe are very rationall, but the choice, and diſpoſition thereof muſt be between you, and thoſe that are to execute it, with whom if it were poſſible you ſhould procure a meeting at ſome unſuſpected place. I doe propoſe unto you the choyce of ſeverall men, and whom of them you ſhall like beſt, and thinke fitteſt by reaſon of the place where his command is, to him alone, and to no other the buſineſſe ſhall be imparted, whether Sir* William Vavaſour *commander in chiefe of the forces now in Glouceſterſhire, or Colonell* Myn, *Commander of a brigade of the Engliſh that come out of Ireland, or Colonell* Waſhington *who is at Eveſham; or laſtly, whether the Governour of Berkley-caſtle. As ſoon as you ſhall ſend me an anſwer you*

ſhall receive ſatisfaction, from him who hopes you will ſo behave your ſelfe as to make me,

Your aſſured friend,
G. D.

Here this degenerate Lord ſels his honour and betrayes the eſteeme of gallantry, by promoving and engaging himſelfe to reward the vileſt treaſon, and to inſinuate himſelfe into the cloſe workings thereof, when many brave ſpirits out of their abundant juſtice have diſdained the proffer of ſo baſe a ſervice. And herein did hee derogate from the repute of an able Stateſman in relying upon the doubtfull expreſſions of an unknowne perſon, and whoſe condition could not invite any of the leaſt ground of beliefe.

Hereupon a correſpondency was held with the Lord *Digby*; unto whom *Backhouſe* made his reply, that his Lordſhips directions ſuted with his owne former propoſals made unto Maſter *Stanford*, to wit, that the Commander of the forces to be imployed herein muſt be conſcious of the deſigne; and as touching the choice of a chiefe actor on their part, he conceived Sir *William Vavaſour* the fitteſt man, becauſe he was neereſt the buſineſſe, his men lying at *Ledbury*, when the reſt were more remote and of inconſiderable ſtrength: as alſo becauſe he had the beſt advantage to make his approach undiſcovered, there being no ſuburbs nor houſe neere the City from his quarters, nor any out-guard to give the alarm. And for himſelfe, upon a few daies notice he would comply with their expectation, as the actors ſhould agree upon all circumſtances.

Upon this they returned large expreſſions of reward, and honour, but the preſent payment of the three hundred pound was waved by *Stanford*, as much as poſſible, upon pretence of the danger of miſ-fezance in the maine plot. *Backhouſe* would not admit the excuſe, importuned the payment, as well to have ſomething in hand, as to let them know the great wheele that turned him about, that the palpable ſhew of corruption might make them more confident. Neither could they well keepe backe the earneſt of this guerdon, leſt they ſhould render themſelves capable of his

his diſlike or jealouſie, or ſeem to ſuſpect his truſt; whoſe adventure (if reall) in every line was ſufficient to ruine him, and he left to bewaile his owne miſ-fortune: wherefore it was reſolved that this *Stanford* and Captaine *Buckhouſe* ſhould debate upon the buſineſſe by word of mouth; they met accordingly in *Coſſome* an houſe appointed, without armes or attendants, where *Buckhouſe* received two hundred pounds in hand, with a promiſe from *Stanford* to diſcharge a Bond of fifty pounds, and was not once urged in the whole conference to an aſſeveration of fidelity by proteſtation or oath. He received likewiſe the contrivance of the plot laid by Maſter *Stanford*, Sir *William Vavaſour*, and others that were lately come to Tewkesbury, which ranne thus: That Colonell *Maſſie* ſhould be drawne out of the Garriſon with a ſtrong party towards Berkley-caſtle, having aſſurance that the Caſtle ſhould be rendered, which was really intended by them, that the gaining of Glouceſter might be the more facile. In the abſence of the Governour Captaine *Buckhouſe* was to open the gate, and deliver the word. Thus was the plot propoſed and approved by *Buckhouſe*, but with additionall adviſe, that their forces might with all ſpeed relinquiſh Tewkesbury, becauſe he ſhould never perſwade the Governour to draw forth ſuch a party, whilſt they lay ſo ſtrong upon us. This alſo was aſſented unto by the complotters, being ſecure of their agent, and blinded with extreame deſire and confidence. And had not the propoſall of the enemy been by themſelves deſerted, we had poſſeſt Barkley-caſtle, and placed a garriſon in Tewkesbury. Yet ſo farre did they proſecute the buſineſſe, that Sir *William Vavaſour* ſent to require the Governour of Berkley to draw out his whole garriſon (which was refuſed, without the Kings, or Prince *Ruperts* ſpeciall command) himſelfe alſo commanded a great part of his foot to *Parſons*, profeſſed his endeavours to march with the reſidue, and all the horſe; but that His Majeſties Commiſſioners were ſo averſe as by no meanes to conſent or permit, unleſſe they might know and approve the deſigne, whom he profeſſed to leave unſatisfied, leſt he might doe *Buckhouſe* a diſſervice, and prevent or diſturbe the motion. Notwithſtanding *Buckhouſe* knew well enough that the Councell of warre at Tewkesbury, and the whole Court at

Oxford are full of this complement; and ſo cloſe was the buſineſſe carried that the London Mercury had blazoned him for a Traytor. Wherefore upon this pretence they runne backe to one of the former Propoſitions, to wit, that he would draw forth his owne Troope, with one more, which ſhould be put in the reare of their horſe, and himſelfe lead the forlorne hope into the Towne. But he exquiſitely declined this way pretending himſelfe not a little daſhed at the diſturbance of the firſt intention, which in his owne thoughts ranne ſo feazeble, and alledged the Governours watchfulneſſe in obſerving the garriſon of *Tewkesbury*, that he had given private commands to the Officers both of horſe and foot to be inſtantly ready upon the firſt advance of their forces, and kept abroad night and day good parties of horſe to bring intelligence. So that he could not joyne with them, without ſuſpition or diſcovery: and as he ſhould be glad to confirme their opinion of his reall performance, for whom he did thus hazzard his life and fortune, ſo ſhould he be infinitely unwilling to put them upon any enterprize which to themſelves might prove prejudiciall: he minded them withall that the true frame of the plot was the life of the action. That one miſſeizance in a buſineſſe of this nature was never to be repaired, but croſſed the perfection of ſuch an enterprize, wherein he proteſted himſelfe happy if he might ſacrifice himſelfe to accompliſh the ſame *according to his deſires*. In the cloſe hee gave his opinion, that the Governours abſence was the chiefe requiſite to prepare the buſineſſe, that his preſence was not conſiſtent with the ſafety of their ſide, eſpecially if the alarm be taken at the firſt entrance. Wherefore he was once more confident to urge the relinquiſhing of *Tewkesbury*, and upon the removall promiſed to poſſeſſe the Governour with a private intelligence of the ſurrender of Berkley, and perſwade him to imbrace the ſuppoſed opportunity, whilſt himſelfe ſhould remaine at home with the command of the horſe left for ſcouts, and act the buſineſſe with more eaſe and ſafety.

This motion effected its intended purpoſe to bring them on at the Weſt Port, to our beſt advantage againſt them, and Sir *William Vavaſour* ſeemed to incline, but craved a little patience till the contri-

contribution were brought in to ſatisfie the Souldiers. Maſter *Stanford* required a particular information of the ſtate of the garriſon, and received an account of the ſeverall Ports, Forts, great Guns, Draw-bridges, Proviſions and Ammunition. This was taken for a pregnant teſtimony of *Backhouſe* his fidelity, and made them the more bold to come on, who were gulled with ſuch a ſlender notice of triviall things, that the meaneſt boy which paſſed through the ſtreetes might give as great ſatisfaction: but whatſoever was of concernment he repreſented to the beſt advantage of the garriſon.

After much variety of entercourſe, Sir *William Vavaſour* urged the execution, in regard the Parliaments Army grew ſo ſtrong, that what they attempted was to be done out of hand. The plot was thus diſpoſed by Captaine *Backhouſe*, as well to ſecure his owne perſon within the gates, as to render the deſigne more probable. That whereas being Commander of the horſe he could require the Keyes of the City for the ſending forth of ſcouts, he propoſed this way to their liking; that the very night of their approach he might provide Scouts out of his owne Troope who ſhould not be ready till the buſineſſe were acted. Meane while himſelfe would take the Keyes, repaire to the Weſt gate, and pretend to ſtay for their comming, and ſet the guard which is uſually ſlender to drinke in an Ale-houſe: In which time they might advance, finde no living ſoule but himſelfe at the gate, or a few drunken men, and pretend withall to be our owne men from *Churcham*, where we had a guard of horſe and foot, which if they did not diſturbe would continue there awhile, and further the performance.

Thus the ſafety of the Country, and our ſmall garriſons was ſtill interwoven in each part of the plot: and they deceived with ſo great a ſemblance of reaſon, that they could not ſuſpect, though in every motion hee conſtantly waved ſelfe-ingagement, and perſonall danger. The maine care of the buſineſſe is to draw them on to a ſelfe-deſtruction: and the laſt modell complies with their fancy in each particle, and to their ſecond thoughts likewiſe appeares ſtill more rationall. On the fifteenth of *February* the fatall time is come, nine of the clocke at night is the houre appoin-

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ted, the guards are to be drawn off from the further Bridge, and the Sentinells to be taken in. Prince *Rupert* is to advance with fifteen hundred horse and foot, and it would be very satisfactory if Captaine *Backhouse* met them with his own Troop pretending to beat up a horse quarters, but this they urge not if it be found inconvenient. In the evening a Messenger is dispatched from *Glocester* to the Enemies quarters, with the watch word for their assurance and some private directions for their march up the Town; while himselfe waited at the Gate, which he undertook to set open, if they came by nine of the clock, or within half an houre after.

After the messengers dispatch, the ports were shut up round the City, carefull Sentinells set, The Governour called a councell of War, acquainted the Officers with the Plot, gave order that aswell Citizens as Souldiers should continue that night in Armes: drew to the Westgate three peeces of Ordnance, and a strong guard of Musketiers well provided with Granadoes, and commanded foure stout men in a boate under *Ouers* Bridge halfe a mile distant from the gate to lie under the maine Arch, with direction that upon the firing of the first Ordnance they should cut a cable rope, which being done the Bridge would fall into the River. By which meanes they had all been killed, drowned or taken being cooped up in an Island open to our shot without possible meanes of escape. In this preparation and posture we continued all night, watching the time to have delivered our selves from the future mischiefe of such bloud thirsty Enemies, They advanced with their whole body of horse and foot, but before they came within a mile and a halfe of the City it was open day, when having lost the time by the slownesse of their march, they durst not come on but instantly retreated to *Newent*, from thence Captaine *Backhouse* was informed by letters, of the reason of their faylings, which induced us to believe that the Enemy did not yet know that their designe was destroyed. Wherefore we indeavoured secrecy, and the next day suffered no man to passe the ports, desired to salve the matter and bring them on once more, but the whole frame quickly fell asunder, though the languishing enemy gave some cold entertainment to a few patch-

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As they had all juſtly periſhed in their own helliſh miſchiefe, ſo are they deſervedly branded with notorious folly in the whole mannage : and the chiefe undertakers might have learned not to indulge their hopes of faire concluſion by their own ſubtilty cogitations, and the ſhew of a neate contrivance, when nothing beneath a like mutuall engagement, and ſtrong neceſſity doth deſerve aſſurance and confidence. Neverthelesſe the pregnant hopes of this maginary treaſon, as it brought forth a lie to the contrivers thereof, ſo it wrought much good for this garriſon, and the common ſervice of the State. The imbracing of the motion held up the deſires of the enemy, and made them leſſe active elſewhere. It preſerved the Country till our ſuccours came which were every day expected. Neither was this plot the cauſe that the power of the enemy did beare hard on the Countrey (for here was the confluence of their Winter quarters) but ſince we muſt beare their burden, it made it the leſſe grievious. 'Twas impoſſible to keep out an Enemy, but all the skill was to allay his fury and hinder the acting of miſchiefe : which was carried on with violence by the Malignant Gentry, and that party that were not privy to or diſliked the Plot; inſo much that Sir *William Vavaſour* was complained of, reviled and curſed : and at once loſt the opportunity of action and advancement in the Kings Service.

The Enemy ſwarmes in every corner, except the County of the City and *Whitſtone* hundred, that each day creates new troubles, and the Governour conſtrained on one ſide, or other continually to draw out ſtrong parties, to defend our ſelves, maintaine our Markets and incourage that part of the Country which is yet clear: All advantages were taken to ingage the people and herein did the Governors induſtry put forth it ſelfe in ſetling the Country in a poſture of defence, when the command of the City did not reach above three miles ſome wayes, and not above ſeaven miles on the beſt ſide. At ſeverall Randezvouzes publiſhed the nationall Covenant and Declaration of both Kingdomes expreſſing their mutuall care of repayring our breaches

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and perſeverance in their maine undertaking, which gave great ſatisfaction to ſuch as were damnifyed in this cauſe, and confirmed unto them the vigor and ſtrength of the Parliament. By which meanes the nearer parts became wholly ours, not only yeilding a ſupply of maintenance, but engaging themſelves on their own and our defence. And ſome of them that did not ſeem to conſide in the State were drawne in being firſt enraged by the Enemeis cruelty, which diſcontent and deſire of revenge the Governour cheriſſed, and raiſed to an open Declaration, and unawares of the multitude put them beyond the hopes of a faire retreate. So that theſe men obſerved the Enemy upon every motion ſent alarms to the City, and in a great part took off the feare of a ſudden ſurprizall.

Amidſt theſe things the expectation of the *London* ſupply, and the dayly hopes of money ſtrongly upheld the common Souldiers by a meere deluſion: its delay became a greater advantage, ſince its reall ſtrength had before bin crumbled to duſt. No part of the Kingdome was capable of better ſervice by a conſiderable number, yet a meane and ſlender reliefe did not only not ſhake off the burthen, but diſgrace the buſineſſe and contract, and ſinke the mindes of men when hope doth enlarge and beare up.

The Governour therefore adviſed the ſtay of the Convoy, and was willing to expect ſuch a party as might inable him to beate off the Enemy fifteen miles round about. Want of Ammunition was the greateſt exigence, and the preſerving thereof; till a ſupply came was the maine hinderance of all deſignes? Nevertheleſſe we had perpetuall Bickerings, that the Enemy might not grow upon us and our dayly nimble performances were unto them as a continuall dropping. Amongſt others a party of horſe and Dragooners iſſued forth as far as *Marſhfield*, fell upon a Troope of horſe quarters there and brought thence a Lieutenant, Cornet, and Quartermaſter, with a few common priſoners, and ſuch horſe and Armes as the Troop did yeild. Whilſt Colonell *Veales* foot, and the Lord *Inchequeenes* horſe lay in and about *Berkely*, and ſorely oppreſſed the Country, we fell into a horſe quarter of *Inchequeenes* Regiment, and took a Major and two Captaines, with

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three Lieutenants, two Cornets with two Colours and other inferior Officers and Souldiers, to the number of three and twenty, all this while the ſtrength of the Kings army is lodged between us and Warwick, to intercept our relief and in thought have already divided the ſpoyle.

Sir *William Vavaſour* willing to act ſomething in the latter end of the day, to repaire his credit in the Kings Army, deſired a greater ſtrength with a ſufficient Artillery to diſtreſſe and ſtraiten Glouceſter, and having obtained two Culverins from Oxford, with a proportion of powder, he advanced with a ſtrong Brigade towards Painſwick with unuſuall preparations and expectation. Their march afflicted the Country, and indangered our out-garriſons. The enemy were confident to the laſt that extremity would compell us to yeild up all to their mercy. Sir *William Vavaſour* entred *Painſwicke* with as gallant horſe and foot as the Kings Army did yeild. Here the Governour had placed a guard in a houſe neer the Church, into which the Church alſo was taken in by a Breaſt work of Earth. The intention of the guard was to command contribution, and keepe off a plundering party: and order was given to the Lieutenant which commanded to maintaine it againſt a leſſer party, but if the maine body and Artillery advanced upon them, to relinquiſh it and retreate down the Hill to *Bruckthrop* (where the Governour had ſet a guard to prevent the Enemies falling down into the bottome) for which purpoſe they were aſſiſted with a Troop of horſe, to make good ſuch a Retreate if need were. But the Lieutenant more confident of the place, and not underſtanding the ſtrength of the Army, and not willing to draw off before the laſt minute, was inforced by the Enemy to engage himſelfe, and many willing people of the Neighbourhood in that weak hold, and upon the firſt onſet deſerted the houſe being the ſtronger part, and betook himſelfe to the Church, which wanting flankers the Enemy had quickly gained by firing the doores and caſting in hand-Granadoes, ſome few were ſlaine in defending the place, and the reſt taken priſoners. We loſt three inferior Officers, ſeaven and thirty common Souldiers, and many Country men; At that ſeaſon the Governour had commanded to *Stroud*, another guard of fifty Muſ-

keriers to ſupport and ſtrengthen the place in its own defence. But Ammunition was their only cry, which ſtruck us dead, and conſtrained the Governour to withdraw that party to the garriſon at *Eſſington*; For our Magazine did then yeild no more then ſix ſingle barrells of powder, by which meanes he was wholly diſabled to encounter the Enemy; Only to preſerve the bottome, he drew forth the greateſt part of both Regiments with their Colours diſplay'd to flouriſh at a diſtance, and ſummoned the Volunteers of the Country whom himſelfe had engaged in a poſture of defence. Theſe were to increaſe the appearance of ſtrength by day, and at night to guard the ſeverall paſſages. So that the Enemy durſt not adventure below the Hills, nor ſeek us in our advantages, nor was it ſafe for us, who wanted horſe, to ſet upon them in thoſe large and open places; Either party kept their own ground. They waſted the Hill Countries, whilſt we ſecured the Vale: and the Souldiers ſuſtained hard duty in marching to and fro to give the Country ſatisfaction, where the Enemy prevailed they plundered to the bare walls, and this was the accompliſhment of the great ſervice, ſo long expected from Sir *William Vavaſour*.

This Brigade, upon the defeate of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Army, by Sir *William Waller* at *Charrington* Down, was commanded hence and inſtantly marched for *Cirenceſter* and ſo to *Oxford*, our horſe made after them but could not recover the Reare, only they lighted upon ſome ſtraglers, and in the whole buſineſſe we killed and took near fifty men. This diverſion relieved Glouceſter which elſe had bin blocked up to the Gates, and caſt into as great neceſſity as ever. In this pinch we received twelve horſe loade of Ammunition ſtrangely conveyed between the Enemies garriſons, only by the Carriers and a foot poſt, when their deſigned convoy that ſet forth a little after and miſſed them, gave them for loſt and returned to *Warwicke*; The reſidue of the relief was ſtolne by parcells through the enemies Quarters, for though their greater body was drawn off, yet were we ſtill vexed with their garriſons. Not long after there arrived another portion and three Troopes of horſe to make up the Governours Regiment. At length came Lieutenant Colonell *Ferrar* that had

had the command of theſe ſuccours with a little long expected pay for the Garriſon. As for the Foote Souldiers that came with him out of *London*, in regard they came ſeverall wayes and at ſeverall times in a lingering march with want of pay, and ſome taken priſoners, about fifty came to *Glouceſter*, and of the reſt, no good account could be given.

When *Vavaſour* was called off the Enemy revived and grew bold under a more active Leader Colonell *Nicholas Min*, who commanded the Iriſh Brigade. In the firſt entrance hee began to laſh out, and made aſſayes of action, cut down the Bridge at *Maſemore*, allarmed the City from the Vineyard Hill, and took divers of our men that iſſued out upon a ſally over the River in a boate.

At this preſent there came dayly cries for the reliefe of *Brampton* Caſtle in the remote parts of *Herefordſhire*, which held out a long time in the midſt of the Enemies Country to the expenſe of much time and bloud. And their ſuccour was the more importuned by the rage of the Enemy, which had lately acted their cruelties upon fourty priſoners of the ſame command taken by Colonell *Woodhouſe* in *Hopton* Caſtle, which were baſely murthered after the ſurrender. Colonell *Maſſie* had no forces under his command to undertake a march through the midſt of the Enemy, when they preſſed hard on our own borders, and the Brigade of horſe aſſigned for the Convoy, and commanded by Commiſſary Generall *Bber* were unwilling to undertake the ſervice. Yet while theſe horſe remained here, the Governour deſired to ſet them a worke that they might not act only to the ſpoyle of the Country. Wherefore they joyned with a party of our foot, and made an attempt upon *Newent*, Colonell *Mins* garriſon, but were called off in the midſt of the ſervice by a ſpeciall order from the L. Generall.

The Enemy have loſt the hopes of their Winter action, and this garriſon made the beſt of a bad game in continuall petty ſervices and ſmall parties, yet beyond the ſtrength of the place, not to conquer, but live, nor to deſtroy the Kings Forces but to ſtave off or delude them. But to enable Colonell *Maſſie* to march with a better ſtrength, Colonell *Purefoy* with his Regiment

of horſe about the firſt of *April* 1644, was by the Committee of both Kingdome, commanded into theſe parts, and the maine deſigne was to remove or take in the garriſons that lay round the City. Theſe horſe having brought but a ſlender part of the Ammunition, and none of the Armes that were ſent from *London* were remanded to *Warwicke*, for the Convoy of Match and Powder: The Governour reſolving not to undertake a march or action of time without a proportion of Powder, both for the field and garriſon. Upon their ſecond arrivall theſe horſe with a party of foure hundred foot were drawne out with two ſmall pieces of Ordnance, and advanced into the Enemies quarters, firſt with a purpoſe to ſeeke out Colonell *Min*, who was lodged in the nearer parts. But upon the report of our march he fell back from *Newent* and haſtned to *Roſſe*, where he began to fortify the Church with his own and Sir *John Winters* Regiments. The Governour made forwards into *Herefordſhire*, and kept his head quarters at *Ledbury* to appeare unto the Enemy, and in their own Country provoke them to action, and in the meane while to fetch in monies for the ſupply of the Souldier, and to eaſe our Neighbourhood, which till then did beare the whole burden. Our horſe that lay neer upon their garriſons had ſome encounters, but with no conſiderable party. From *Hedbury* an hundred and fifty Musketiers with the whole ſtrength of horſe were drawn towards *Hereford* to command the Country, and face the garriſon which feared our approach, and for that cauſe fired a lone houſe neer the City, but none did adventure to ſally forth or fall on the Reare in our retreat, ſo we marched through the greateſt part of the County, but the grand Malignants were fled with the beſt of their ſubſtance. The Governour reſolved to attempt the leſſer garriſons, but the noyſe of our march had reached Prince *Rupert*, who thereupon was come to *Eveſham* with as great a ſtrength of Horſe and Dragoones as he could draw together with a purpoſe to fall over *Upton*-Bridge, and get between Glouceſter, and our forces, whilſt Colonell *Min* and Sir *John Winter* held us in play in theſe parts. Wherefore being advertiſed of the Princes march, and ſuſpecting his intention, he drew back the party as well to refreſh and preſerve his men as to make the Enemy ſecure.

But

But within foure daies the like number were againe drawne out towards the Forreſt ſide to attempt and act ſomething upon *Myns* forces, and firſt they came up upon *Weſtbury*, once our owne garriſon, but betrayed into the hands of Sir *John Winter*. Here the enemy held the Church, and a ſtrong houſe adjoyning. The Governour obſerving a place not flanked, fell up that way with the Forlorne hope, and ſecured them from the danger of ſhot. The men got ſtooles and ladders to the windowes, where they ſtood ſafe, caſt in Granadoes and fired them out of the Church. Having gained the Church, he quickly beat them out of their workes and poſſeſt himſelfe of the houſe, where he tooke about foure ſcore priſoners, without the loſſe of a man. The enemy had an other guard at *Little-Deane*, whither the Governour commanded a party of horſe to give them alarms whilſt he fell upon *Weſtbury*. Theſe horſe found the enemy ſtragling in the Towne, and upon the diſcovery of their approach ſhuffling towards the garriſon, which the Troopers obſerving, alighted and ran together with them into the houſe, where they tooke about twenty men. Neere unto which guard Lieutenant Colonell *Congrave* Governour of *Newnham* and one Captaine *Wigmore* with a few private Souldiers were ſurrounded in ſome houſes by the reſidue of our horſe. Theſe had accepted quarter, ready to render themſelves when one of their company from the houſe kils a Trooper, which ſo enraged the reſt, that they broke in upon them and put them all to the Sword: in which accident this paſſage was not to be forgotten that expreſſed in one place an extreame contrariety in the Spirits of men under the ſtroke of death: *Congrave* died with theſe words, *Lord receive my ſoule*; and *Wigmore* cryed nothing but *Dam me more*, *Dame me more*; deſperately requiring the laſt ſtroke, as enraged at Divine revenge.

Colonell *Maſſie* purſued the ſucceſſe (whilſt his owne men were full of life and hope, that the confidence of the enemy might be daſhed by a quicke ſurpriſall.) And the very next day came before *Newnham*, where a ſtrong party of Sir *John Winters* forces kept garriſon in the Church, and the Fort adjoyning, of conſiderable ſtrength, who at that inſtant where much daunted

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and diſtracted by the loſſe of *Congrave* their Governour. Our men were poſſeſt of the Towne without oppoſition, and recovered the houſes by which they got neere the workes. The Governour commanded a blind of faggots to be made athwart the ſtreet, drew up two pieces of Ordnance within Piſtoll ſhot: and obſerving a place not well flanker'd where he might lead up his men to the beſt advantage, himſelfe marched before them, and found that part of the worke fortified with double palliſadoes: (the Souldiers being provided with Sawes to cut them down,) and having drawn theſe cloſe within a dead angle, and ſecure from their ſhot, and drawing the reſt of his force for a ſtorme, the enemy forthwith deſires parley, and to ſpeake with the Governour, which he refuſed, and commanded a ſudden ſurrender. In this interim ſome of the enemy jumpt over the workes, and ſo our men broke in upon the reſt, who ranne from the out-worke into the Church, hoping to cleare the mount which we had gained. But our men were too nimble, who had no ſooner entred the mount, but ruſhed upon them before they could reach home, and tumbled into the Church all together. Then they cryed for quarter, when in the very point of victory a diſaſter was like to befall us, a barrell of Gunpowder was fired in the Church, undoubtedly of ſet purpoſe, and was conceived to be done by one *Tipper* a moſt virulent Papiſt, and Sir *John Winters* ſervant, deſpairing withall of his redemption being a priſoner before, and having falſified his engagements. This Powder blaſt blew many out of the Church, and ſorely ſinged a greater number, but killed none. The Souldiers enraged fell upon them, and in the heate of blood, ſew neere twenty, and amongſt others this *Tipper*. All the reſt had quarter for their lives (ſave one Captaine *Butler* an Iriſh rebell, who was knocked downe by a common ſouldier) and an hundred priſoners taken. The ſervice was performed without the loſſe of a man on our ſide.

After this diſpatch the Governour marched to Lidney houſe, with purpoſe to attempt according to what he ſhould finde meet, and in the firſt place ſummoned the ſame to a ſurrender, which being refuſed, and he finding the houſe exceedingly fortified, and no leſſe provided with victuall and force, engaged not upon it:

And

And underſtanding that Col. *Myn* with a conſiderable ſtrength of horſe and foot, aſſiſted by the Lord *Herberts* forces, and Sir *John Winter*, was come as far as *Coford*; he was enforced with more expedition to draw off, for the gaining of the hill towards them, there expecting the enemies advance till towards evening, when he marched off his wearied men to *Glouceſter*, firſt having fired Sir *John Winters* Iron-mils and Furnaces, the maine ſtrength of his eſtate and garriſon.

After theſe things many Gentlemen of the County began to looke towards the Parliament, and tender their obedience, deſiring Protections from this government, to ſecure themſelves from ſpoyle, and the ſouldiers violence. Nevertheleſſe as the perſonall eſtates of all knowne delinquents within the reach of this command were ſeized, and the profits of their Lands ſequeſtred, ſo theſe men were not to be ignorant or inſenſible of the value of their peace. Concerning ſome the Governour deſired the direction of the Houſes, yet granted Protections with ſtrict proviſoes onely to preſerve their perſons from the violence, and their eſtates from the plunder of the common ſouldier, for the advantage of the publique, till a full conviction, or the pleaſure of the Houſes were by themſelves or their Committee made known. And this he did according to the Parliaments undeniable juſtice, and the example of other generall Officers. As for the moderate offenders, unleſſe the ſtate of things did require or permit their utter deſtruction, he had no other way but to endeavour to make them our friends and confidents, and ſince it was reſolved they muſt live amongſt us, hee deſired by love and gentle dealing to hold the way ſecure and open, that they might imbrace the condition without diſcontent or feare, and for theſe protections hee reſerved nothing to himſelfe but cauſed the moneys to be paid in to the publique Treaſurer for the uſe of the garriſon.

Neither was he ſluggiſh in the ſpring of action, but immediately fell upon another deſigne, the ſurpriſall of *Tewkesbury*, by an unexpected onſet. For the enemy by the number of their men, and the naturall ſtrength of the place, with the workes well begun, were ſufficiently provided to receive an expected and open ſtorme, and the Governour ſhun'd all deſperate hazzards, becauſe

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he did not march with ſupernumerary forces, but the maine ſtrength of Glouceſter. Wherefore to deceive the enemy the foot were drawne forth at the Weſt-gate, bearing the ſhew of an advance into Herefordſhire, and the Horſe kept their Rendezvouz, and looked the ſame way. But in the evening the horſe came backe and marched through Glouceſter towards Tewkesbury, having firſt ſent a guard to *Upton*-bridge: while the foot came on beyond Severne. The deſigne had taken effect, had not the foot by their ſlow march or miſ-guidance paſſed the houre, which was breake of day, for they came not before the Towne till an houre after Sunne riſing, when we were found not fit to aſſault a waking and prepared enemy. To withdraw nevertheleſſe, did ſeeme but a feeble buſineſſe for ſuch a faire body of horſe and foot diſplayed before the Towne, and carried before it the appearance of a baſtle: yet the Governour, though naturally jealous of honour, could digeſt ſuch miſ-fezance, when the ſafety of his owne men required, knowing that the opportunity of ſervice would in good time cancell a miſ-grounded ignominy, and in his whole courſe, whenſoever the preſent exigence did not urge a greater hazzard, neglected the hopes of thoſe victories that could not be gained without the weakning of that party on which the maine reſt did lie.

This party was preſently ſent over the River, and marched toward *Roſſe* to prevent the joyning of Colonell *Myn* (now made Commander in chiefe in the roome of Sir *William Vavaſour*) with Sir *John Winter*, and the Welſh forces, as alſo to raiſe moneys for the garriſon out of the remoter parts, to enlarge our owne quarters, engage the Countrey with us, or to lie ready for all occaſions of ſervice. There our horſe and foot arrived, with two pieces of Ordnance, and found *Wilton*-bridge guarded by Captaine *Caſſie*, and thirty Musketiers from *Gudridge*-caſtle; a party of our horſe advanced upon them, forced the River, and got beyond them; after ſome diſpute beat off the guard, wounded and tooke the Captaine, ſlew many of his men, and tooke the reſt in the chaſe almoſt up to the Caſtle. Our forces reſted here a few daies, and ſummoned the Countrey to appeare, it being the Governours conſtant endeavour to adde daily friends unto the Parliament,

liament, and to put the Countrey into ſuch a poſture, that upon all alarms they might gather to an head for their owne defence, and hereupon many came in and declared themſelves, by taking the Nationall Covenant. Whilſt the engagement of the Countrey was thus proſecuted ſome emergent occaſions drew the Governour to *Glouceſter*, where he found a priſoner Captaine *Oglethorpe* Governour of *Beverſton*-caſtle, a man rendred odious to the Countrey by ſtrange oppreſſions and tyranny, and who loſt himſelfe baſely being taken by ſome of our Scouts in a private houſe courting his Miſtreſſe, and when once taken, not ſo high and ſterne before, but now as vile and abject. By which meanes the Governour was made ſenſible of the weakeneſſe of the Caſtle, but much divided in his owne thoughts, whether to leave the Countrey that came on ſo fairely to a ſelfe-engagement, and neglect the Contribution already levied, but not payd in, or deſert the hopes of a gallant ſervice: till at laſt conſidering the great command of the Caſtle, that the gaining of it would free the Clothiers of *Stroudwater* from the bondage and terrour of that government, & might prove a great detriment and annoyance to the enemy, in ſtopping or diſturbing their paſſage from *Oxford* to *Briſtoll*, he turned his thoughts to the buſineſſe, put on and reſolved to try for it. Wherefore he drew from *Roſſe* without delay, and commanded his foot over *Severne* at *Newnham* paſſage, whilſt the horſe marched through *Glouceſter*: the next day he came before *Beverſton*, and demanded the Caſtle in the name of the King and Parliament.

The Lieutenant that commanded, at the firſt returne ſent an anſwer of complyance, farre from the language of a ſouldier, and without one confident expreſſion. They quickly came to a parley, and rendered upon conditions that both Officers and common Souldiers leaving their Armes, Ammunition, Bagge and Baggage, ſhould freely paſſe to whatſoever garriſon of the Kings themſelves deſired, onely foure Officers had the priviledge to take each man his horſe. So that without loſſe or danger we were poſſeſt of *Beverſton*-caſtle, to the great content and ſatisfaction of the Countrey round about. 'Twas loſt unworthily on the enemies part, who might have held it with eaſe. Of ſo

great ſimplicity was he conſcious that commanded the Garriſon as to aske the place, whether our forces intend the next march, expreſſing his doubts of *Malmesbury*, and feare of being taken the ſecond time. Nevertheleſſe they required a conduct thitherward and were guard d along by two Troops of horſe, and that very day our forces fell before it.

Whilſt the horſe faced the Towne Colonell *Maſſie* ſent in the Summons, but this enemy put on the appearance of bravery fired upon the horſe, and Colonell *Henry Howard* Governour of the Garriſon ſent backe a reſolute answer. Thereupon our foot and artillery were brought up from *Tedbury*, and within two houres drawne into the Suburbs and lower part of the Towne. The foot broke their way through the houſes till they came almoſt up to the workes, and the onely place of entrance into the Towne, which is built upon the levell of a rocke. Colonell *Maſſie* cauſed a blinde to be made croſſe the ſtreet to bring up the Ordnance, within Carbine ſhot: when on the ſudden the fancie of an Alarm ſeized upon our men in the heate of the buſineſſe, that the enemy were ſallying out upon them, which was nothing ſo. This unexpected accident ſtrucke thoſe men that at other times would brave it in the face of an enemy, with ſuch diſtraction and feare, that they all fled, and left their Cannon in the open ſtreet. This meere conceit was like to overturne all: but they within obſerved not. After a while the Souldiers recovered themſelves, regained and kept their ground, and the Governour reſolved to ſtorme the Towne in three places at once. The ſeverall parties were drawne out to the places of aſſault, but this deſigne miſcarried through the miſ-underſtanding of the ſignall. The parties returne unto the Governour, who reſolved to make the aſſault at breake of day in one place where himſelfe kept the onely paſſage into the Town, having no draw-bridge at the entrance, but onely a Turn-pike, whereas the other parts were almoſt inacceſſible, guarded by a ſteepe deſcent, and double channell round about. The houſes within Piſtoll ſhot of the workes were our maine advantage, by which meanes our men were brought ſafe under the ſhelter of their workes. And the Governour obſerving the late effects of a panick feare amongſt his

his owne men, gave the charge that they ſhould fall on all together with a ſudden and confuſed noiſe, to amaze the enemy, and diſturbe the command of the Officers. The forlorne hope advanced, ſeconded with a good reſerve, all put on together, came up to the Turn-pike, and threw in Granadoes, the enemy made many ſhot at randome, in the diſadvantage of a rainy night, and their muskets lying wet on the workes. So that our men came all in a croude to the narrow paſſage, and thronged in, and not a man ſlaine or wounded in the ſtorme. One onely was killed the night before in helping to make the blinde. Colonell *Howard* was taken at the workes after three ſhots received in ſeverall parts of his garment, each of which miſſed his body. An hundred musketiers were taken priſoners, many having eſcaped, beſides thoſe of *Beverſton*-caſtle, who came hither for refuge the day before. This ſervice was performed gallantly by our men, after three daies continuall march. Upon the firſt entrance Colonell *Maſſie* preſerved the Town from plunder, nor at any time did he ſuffer his ſouldiers to ranſacke any place that he took by ſtorme, giving this reaſon, that he could judge no part of *England* an enemies Countrey, nor an Engliſh Town capable of devaſtation by Engliſh ſouldiers. After a little ſtay to ſettle the garriſon, and Countrey, and to command in ſome moneys for the ſatisfaction of the ſouldiers, and preſent ſupply of the brigade, he returned to *Glouceſter*; and the *Warwickeſhire* horſe were called off into their owne Countrey.

After few daies the Governour having breathed himſelfe and his men, reſolved to attempt the taking of *Tewkesbury*, a bad neighbour to our head garriſon, and where he had ſuffered the repulſe twice before. He was able to draw forth an hundred and twenty horſe, and about thirty dragoones, with three hundred foot. For his ſtrength was no more then the ſtanding forces of the City, a great part of which were now ſwallowed up by the garriſons lately taken in. The horſe and dragoones commanded by Major *Hammond* advanced ſome few houres before the Foot and Artillery, and were to alarm the enemy till the foot came up. They made a haulte a mile from the Town, and drew out a pretty ſtrong forlorne-hope, conceiving they might potibly ſurprize them, if

they had not as yet tooke the alarm, and first three men were sent before to espy if the Draw-bridge were down, and six more behind went undiscovered; next unto these marched the forlorne hope, and the maine body in the reare. In this posture they advanced up to the Town, where they found the Bridge down, the guards slender; the enemy without intelligence, and supinely negligent. On went the first party, killed the Sentinels, a Pikeman and a Musketier without match, and made good the bridge: the forlorne-hope rushed in, and after them a full body of horse and dragoones, fell upon the guards, came up to the maine-guard before the alarm was taken, overturned their Ordnance, and charged through the streets as farre as the bridge *Worcester* way, where they tooke Major *Myn* the Governour of the Towne. The enemy threw down their Armes, many escaped by flight, and many were taken prisoners. Colonell *Godfrey* was slain in the first charge, as also Colonel *Vavasours* Quartermaster-generall, and a Lieutenant, all Papists, besides a Sergeant, with about six common Souldiers. Our Officers and Souldiers supposing themselves wholly victorious, dismounted and went into the houses, some in the vanity of their humour, others for plunder, whilst all sleighted their owne guards, and the making good of the bridge at which they entered, and neglected the taking and disarming of the maine-guard, which lay in the heart of the Towne, and cleared every street. Whereupon those at the main-guard observing the horse not seconded with foot, took courage to charge some of our horse now in confusion, and many of the enemy out of the houses ran to the guard, and so strengthned it, that they issued out upon our men, put them to a retreat, beat them out of the Towne, and took some few prisoners. But before they were beaten out they had cut down two Draw-bridges, and secured the Governour Major *Myn*, who was passed over *Severne* with a small party that tooke him beyond the Town. By this time Colonell *Massie* was come up with a few horse halfe a mile in the Van of the foot, which hasted after to make an assault in this instant of time. But the bridge towards *Glouceſter* was againe drawn up and the workes manned on that side; here the governour placed his company of dragoones, and gave order to fire upon them, whilst he drew his men round

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the Towne, it being now darke night; but before he could reach the farther end, where he entered about midnight the enemy were fled towards *Worceſter*, being daunted at the firſt aſſault made by the horſe, obſerving withall our foot now brought up, their owne Governour loſt, their Officers ſlaine, and moſt of the common Souldiers already runne away. The Townesmen through feare durſt not give the leaſt intelligence of what had hapned. By which meanes they were paſt the recovery of our horſe already tyred, beſides the night and darke weather hindred the purſuit. Onely we tooke ſome ſcattering foot, to the number of foure and twenty, with a Lieutenant. Upon our entrance we found eighteen barrels of Powder, left by their haſte, an hundred & twenty skeyns of Match, two hundred new Pikes, foure & thirty large hand-Granadoes, good ſtore of Musket-ſhot, and two braſſe Drakes. Moſt of their Muskets were thrown about in the fields, ditches, and rivers, many of which were afterwards found, but the place it ſelfe was of greateſt conſequence, and worthy of the ſervice, being now a ſtrong Frontier-town ſecuring that ſide of the County, and commanding a good part of *Worceſterſhire*: and in this nicke of time extreamly croſſe to the intentions of the Kings Army. The enemy confeſt themſelves to be neer ſeven hundred ſtrong, when our whole body could not reach that number. That very day Colonell *Myn* was to march from *Hereford* to ayd this Town: but prevented by our poſſeſſion.

Theſe things were acted here while the Earle of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller* lay neere *Oxford* with both their Armys, and compelled His Majeſty to withdraw himſelfe from his ſtrongeſt hold. The King having ſhifted between them both by a cloſe and nimble conveyance, and being on a ſwift march over *Cotſwood* hils had this Town of *Tewkesbury* in his thoughts for his owne paſſe, and a ſtop to the purſuing Army, not underſtanding his loſſe till within a daies march of the place. The intelligence of this ſurpriſall, and that *Upton*-bridge was made unpaſſable, perplexed the King, and turned aſide the courſe of his flight towards *Eveſham*: where he quartered for a night, and roſe thence in great diſtraction, and cauſed all the bridges in thoſe parts to be broken down after him, to hinder Sir *William Waller* in the purſuit, whom

whom he expected in the Reare every hower. In such a hurry, confusion and feare did the Enemy run, that a smaller party of horse only with the report of the foot comming after, in a constant and close pursuit might have consumed and dissipated the whole army: which nevertheless remained a body with life in it selfe, and quickly grew up to the perfection of parts.

The Governour had reduced these parts into a reasonable condition of ease, and security, made a convenient passe for the Parliaments forces through the heart of the Kings Country, and blocked up the course of the Enemy almost on every side, unlesse the maine Army did march. *Malmesbury* and *Beverston* Castle lie in the Roade from *Oxford* to *Bristoll*, and inforce the lesser parties to fetch a compasse by *Worcester* and *Hereford*, thence round about into *Wales*, and at last to passe the River of *Severne* below *Berkely* Castle.

When the King had winded himselfe out of the snare, Sir *William Waller* could not well follow the chase with his foot and a traine of Artillery, though the horse might performe gallantly to the ruine of those who resolved rather to flie before them then fight upon any tearmes. Wherefore he made some pause by the way with a purpose to march his great Ordnance to *Gloucester*, and appointed Colonell *Massie* to meet him before *Sudeley*, where he performed an acceptable service to this Country. The Governour forthwith faced the Castle, beat in the Enemy, and took twenty horses from under the Castle walls, expecting the arrivall of Sir *Wil. Waller*: who came up within few houres with a strong party of Horse.

The Enemy within discharged their Ordnance, and fired their out-houses like men resolved upon extremities rather then to yeild up or lose the garison. In the evening Sir *William Waller* summoned the Governour of the Castle: and it fell out that the very name of his Army and presence strooke them to the surrender of that hold that might have expended the lives of many, and much time then pretious in that great advantage on the Kings distressed Army: yet they refused to render at the first summons. The Battery was planted within halfe Musketshot. But the great pieces did little execution upon the soft and yeilding stone, nor could the Castle be taken by battery: but one shot by chance took

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off the head of their Cannoneer, and exceedingly daunted the common ſouldier: and the Governour Sir *William Morton* did in his owne thoughts incline to a ſurrender, whether out of a naturall feare or free choice. He was knowne to be active and violent in the Kings ſervice, of an high ſpirit and bold, bearing before him the ſemblance of valour and ſuppoſed by an high degree of enmity moſt obnoxious to the juſtice of the Parliament, one that had the repute of a knowing man, able in the profeſſion of the Law, and verſed in the wayes and actions of men. He was likewiſe more ſtrongly linked unto that cauſe by the late honour of Knighthood, which by the State is held no better then a note of infamy, to ſtigmatize thoſe perſons that have been eminent in the diſſervice of the common-Wealth. Notwithſtanding this, being loſt and deſperate in the opinion of the Parliament, he gave up that ſtrong hold and himſelfe into their hands, having not provided for the indempnity of his own perſon: when by his own party, likewiſe he muſt needs be branded with treachery or cowardize, and ſo loſt on all hands. So that no faction ſeemes to be aſſured of its principall confidents, and that no reſolved nature or judgement can ſecure the ſtrongeſt enterprize to a wiſe and honorable concluſion. After the ſurrender Sir *William* advanced thence to ſeek out the Kings Army, and left the Caſtle to be kept by the *Glouceſter* forces.

By this time the Enemy had no footing in the County ſave *Berkely*-Caſtle and *Lidney* houſe; And as this government had by maine force gained every ſtep of its command, ſo no leſſe skill and vertue is required to maintaine the victories, we have the poſſeſſion of *Glouceſter*, *Tewkesbury*, *Sudely*, *Newneham*, *Beverſton*, and *Slimbridge*, all to be defended and maintained at ſo great diſtances only by two Regiments of foot. For *Malmesbury* was kept by Colonell *Deveraux* his Regiment, who was appointed Governour under the command of Colonell *Maſſie*, unto whom the diſpoſition and ſettlement of that garriſon was intruſted by the Parliament. For want of money the City Regiments were weake and uncertaine in duty and ſervice, and the Souldiers ranne dayly to other garriſons, where they found alwayes conſtant pay and leſſe hardſhip: But the Gover-

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nour could find none ſo rationall as to clap them in Irons, or give them back to his juſtice. For this cauſe he was perplexed in each deſigne, uncertaine of the atchievement, and could not waite for a regular diſpoſition, and traine of circumſtances: but nimble in the ſecret and ſudden motions of the time and ſeaſon: and ſometime reſolving upon the ſole guide of providence, but in this never running a greater hazard then the ſhame of a non-performanee. Theſe many garriſons having taken up the whole ſtrength; for want of a marching brigade, we were deprived of the fruit of our labours in the ſupplies of monies to be commanded out of the Enemies quarters, and diſabled to relieve the remote parts that were by this time united under the power of this government. So that the firſt fruits were nipt in the bud, and we remaine miſerable after ſo great enlargements, being inforced to cry to the Parliament for help, which we ſhould have held a diſparagement, had we received a ſtock to improve to a larger ſupport, and livelyhood. Wherefore the houſe of Commons taking notice of the many good ſervices of Colonell *Maſſie*, made an Order for the recrute of his Regiment of horſe and foot in the firſt place, and to make up a competent Brigade, Colonell *Tho. Stephens* had commiſſion for a Regiment of horſe, and Colonell *Edward Harley* for a Regiment of foot. In which buſineſſe the Governour adviſed, not to raiſe men and horſe at *London*, whither the refuſe of the Army, runnegadoes, and ſuch as diſliked the conditions of their former entertainment were wont to repaire, but only to procure monies to be ſent into the Country, where horſes might be rayſed at a cheaper rate, and able men were eaſy to be found, and chiefly where we might robbe the Enemy of their maine ſtrength, from whom great multitudes were ready to flow in upon the hopes of entertainment. And before this time ſince the late ſiege at leaſt a thouſand of the Enemy, that here tendred themſelves to the ſervice, went from us for lack of pay. This was a ſpeedy courſe and effectuall, which might carry on the worke whilſt we were in a thriving way.

At that time the affaires of the garriſon were a little enterwoven with ſome paſſages of the greater Army, Sir *William Waller* was led into the Northerne parts, in the purſuit of His Majeſt/,

Majeſtie, ſtraining to reach or get beyond him. But the King doubled in the chace, haſted back by *Worceſter* towards *Oxford*, and left Sir *William* a few dayes march in the Rear, who nevertheleſſe made after with all ſpeed, but was conſtrained to reſt at *Glouceſter* to refreſh his weary Souldiers. And purpoſing to fall upon the Kings Army, importuned the Governor to lend his aſſiſtance, which was extracted out of the extreme penury of theſe parts, onely for a quick diſpatch. Two hundred and ſeventy Muskettiers with a Company of Dragoons were ſent from *Glouceſter*, and a hundred Muskettiers from *Malmſbury* which did not a little neceſſitate the place, and ſtop the actions of this command which had ſo many Garriſons to make good, and defend the Countrey from the neighbouring Enemy that began to threaten from every quarter.

At this time there happened a diſpute between the Kings Army and Sir *William Waller* at a Bridge neer *Banbury*: where ſome few were ſlain, and taken on both ſides, but on ours the chief miſcarriage was the loſſe of ſome Ordnance. After this bruſh the King marched off into the borders of *Worceſterſhire*, and Sir *William Waller* towards *Buckingham*, to joyn with Collonel *Brunne*. Our Countrey is in danger of ruine by the falling down of the Kings Army, whoſe main body lay for a while about *Breedon* three miles from *Tewkesbury*: where his Majeſtie being informed of the weakneſſe of the place, drew neer with a purpoſe to ſtorme it, advanced the Ordnance within a mile, and ſent out parties to skirmiſh. Collonel *Maſſie* upon the firſt intelligence clapt into the Town two hundred Muskettiers, for an additionall ſtrength, and to incourage thoſe within: Himſelf in the mean while with a hundred and fifty Muskettiers in *Coſſowne* waited to encounter with an other party of the *Worceſter* forces, whom he ſtaved off with the loſſe of five or ſix men neer *Vpton* bridge, and paſſed over *Seavern* to *Tewkſbury*. Upon notice hereof, the Enemy drew thence, and retreated towards *Perſhowe*, and *Eveſham*. There the King pretended to paſſe over the River into *Herefordſhire* and *Wales*, and gave command that all the Bridges ſhould be made up, but his deſigne lay Weſtward. Wherefore he made up the hils, marched

the first day in the view of *Shudely* Castle over the Downes, and came that night to *Cubberly* seven miles from *Glouceſter*, and from thence marched the next day by *Beverſtone* Castle to *Sodbury*. They went on like a flying Army, ſurpriſed the Countrey, but they onely touched and away; And our weak troops drove in the ſtragling plunderers. For the Governor commanded a party of horſe to follow the Reare of the Enemy, whileſt the reſt were imployed in a neceſſary defence in ſundry places. Theſe did ſeem to give them a gentle convoy over the hill Countrey towards *Briſtoll*; and though the Van of their horſe were too nimble for us, and drove great ſtore of the garriſon cattell, that lay in their way, yet the Countrey-men were ſaved from any great matter of loſſe, and the parties of horſe brought into our gariſon between 50 and 60 priſoners, officers and ſouldiers; and though they could not retard the march, yet made them paſſe forward with much warines and fear.

In the mean while Coll: *Min*, together with Sir *John Winters* forces take the advantage of our weaknes to ſpoil and deſtroy our friends on the Forreſt ſide, Sir *William Ruſſell* and the Governor of *Worceſter* make incurſions on that ſide. And the gariſon oppreſſed with many out-guards, and multitudes of priſoners within, had much ado to preſerve the neighbours from ruine. Collonel *Min* advanced from *Roſſe*, where he quartered his regiment, within half a mile of the City, drove away the Countrey cattell, and took the perſons of many. And the forces of *Berkely* Caſtle act a ſufficient part in the generall miſchief. The Governor looks round about him, and though he cannot hope to lay them flat, and ſubdue their ſpirits, yet he can check their inſolence, & make them ſtand on their guard. He commanded a party of horſe and Dragoons towards *Berkley*, who fell upon the guard of the Town, beat them into the Caſtle, ſlew eight or ten, took priſoners Captain *Sandys* with a Lieutenant, Enſigne, Sargeant, and ſeven common Souldiers; whence likewiſe they brought away fourty or fifty arms, and took from out of the Park under the Caſtle wall about fiftie horſes with other cattell. An other party was commanded within foure miles of *Worceſter*, and ſurpriſed in their quarters

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Sir *Humphrey Tracy*, Lieu: Coll: *Hely*, and Captain *Savage*, and brought them priſoners to *Glouceſter*.

By this time an increaſe is added to the garriſon forces by the arrival of Col: *Stephens* with three troops of horſe, and two troops of Coll: *Hurlyes* Regiment, which did inable the Governour once more to appear in the field: and draw out againſt Collonel *Min*, a ſerious and active Enemy, and a perpetuall terror to the Countrey, whoſe ruine was again contrived, and reſolved upon. And for this deſigne ſtrong preparations were made by the Enemy round about. The Governor had ſome diſcovery out of their own quarters, and upon advertiſement that ſome forces out of *Hereford* and *Wales* went over the River at *Auſt* paſſage, advanced with his horſe towards *Berkly* Caſtle, and thence to the paſſage, where they miſſed not half an houre of the ſurpriſall of the Lord *Herbert*. The notice of the march of our horſe into the remote parts of the County haſtned *Mins* expedition for *Glouceſterſhire*. And our intelligence abroad gave a timely advertiſement of the work in hand, which a little after was fully confirm'd by letters taken out of Collonel *Mins* pocket, to wit, that *Hereford* and *Worceſterſhire* were to joyn their forces about *Coſſelawne*, and with an over-powering Army to march up to the gates of *Glouceſter*, to the utter devaſtation of the parts adjacent with fire and plunder, and to burn up the corn on the ground, it being then neer harveſt. Hereupon the Governor marched back with his troops to *Glouceſter*, from whence he commanded two hundred and twenty Musketiers, and ordered an hundred Muskettiers from *Tewksbury* to meet him on the march, to prevent this great noiſed Army.

Whileſt the orders for the march were giving forth to the Officers of horſe and foot, there fell out a ſad accident between Major *Gray*, and Major *Hammond*, which was like to daſh the whole action. The heat of a quarrell then brake forth by occaſion of a verball conteſtation at a Councell of Warre the ſame day, when both had orders to march, and were commanded to their particular charges. Major *Gray* began to queſtion *Hammond* for his haſty language, and to require ſatisfaction. This challenge at the preſent was refuſed or ſleighted,

wherefore impatient of the ſuppoſed injury, and full of revenge, he ſmote him on the face with his fiſt: upon this to ſwords they went in the ſtreet, and after a little claſhing, *Gray* received his deaths wound by a thruſt in the neck, and expired in the place. This miſerable accident was like to beget a greater miſchief among the Souldiers, who being in Arms, and ready to advance, came back with full ſtreame of violent reſolution for the preſent revenge of *Grays* blood: that the whole City and garriſon was not farre from an uproar. It reſted on the Governors ſole care to allay that violence of the Souldier, who uſed his beſt art, and induſtry to appeaſe them, whileſt the Officers indulging their own diſcontent at the loſſe of their Major, fell quite off the hinges: After an houres diſpute, and intreaty the tumult was in ſome meaſure qualified, that the moſt were perſwaded to march, as it was high time, when the Enemy came on within three miles of the City with a reſolution if not to lay waſte by fire (as they threatned) yet to plunder and take away the perſons of men, their goods and cattell. The buſineſſe was put forwards, but with little help from the diſcontented Officers. Late in the afternoon our party began to advance, and at *High leaden* paſſage got over the brook. The Enemy were quartered in *Hartpury* field, and commanded to lie cloſe. Our men came up to a bridge within a quarter of a mile of them in the dark night, gave them an alarme, and took ten priſoners, and an other party of our horſe that quartered neer the *Lawne* took divers that were ſent that way to plunder. But their main body evaded us, and with great ſpeed marched that night to *Redmarley*, and we after a tedious wandring to find them out came to *Eldersfield* two miles from their quarters, where we reſted two or three houres to refreſh our ſelves and horſes.

At break of day we prepared to advance upon the enemy, when the beating of their Drums minded us of an early march: and by ſix of the clock we came up to their randezvous, their horſe conſiſted of an hundred and ſixty, and their foot of eight hundred and fifty: and of them ſix hundred and fourty Muskettiers by their own confeſſion: all drawn up into battalions

battalions, and the hedges lined with Muskettiers. To beat them out of their advantages the Governor divided the Foot into two bodies, and drew out the Horſe into ſingle troops, becauſe the frequent incloſures would not make roome for a larger forme (the Enemy in the mean while plying us with ſmall ſhot) and having diſpoſed of his own troop, with the hundred Muskettiers from *Tewkeſbury* newly come in, and many of the Countrey inhabitants armed with Muskets, and good reſolutions to one part of the Town, he drew the *Glouceſter* Muskettiers about an hundred and ſixty (for the reſt remained at home ready to raiſe a mutiny for the misfortune of *Grayes* death) and the greateſt part of the horſe to an other place of beſt advantage. Himſelf advanced with this party, and led the Van, which conſiſted of three troops: theſe were ſeconded with three other troops left to the command of Captain *Backhowſe*. Some of the Foot were placed in each Flank of the Horſe, and one ſingle troop with the reſt of the foot brought up the Reare. They were drawn out into this poſture, marched up to the face of the Enemy, the Governor in the Van, next unto him Collonel *Harley* in the head of his own troop, gallantly, and in good order, gave the charge, beat them from their ambuſcadoes, put their horſe to flight, and in the inſtant of time got into the Van of their foot, cut down, and took them priſoners, that few eſcaped our hands. The Horſe and Foot, both Officers and Souldiers, plaid their parts with reſolution and gallantry. The Enemy was left to our execution, and their whole body broken and ſhattered, many wounded and ſlain, but more taken. Major Generall *Min* was ſlain on the place with an hundred and ſeventy. Among the Officers, Leiſtenant Collonel *Paſſy* then mortally wounded, Major *Buller*, ſeven Captains, foure Leiſtenants, five Enſignes, twelve Sergeants, and neer three hundred common Souldiers were taken priſoners. Some troops advanced in the purſuit five miles from the place of the fight; but upon the view of a ſtrong party from *Worceſter* that came to joyn with Collonel *Min*, they were enforced to leave the purſuit, and prepare for a ſecond encounter. And a ſtrange hand of providence kept aſunder

aſunder the *Hereford* and *Worceſter* forces, whoſe joyning would have proved unto us an inevitable deſtruction. For Leiſtenant Collonel *Paſſie*, who commanded this freſh partie of an hundred, and fiftie horſe and five hundred foot, juſt upon the beginning of the fight was riding up to *Mins* Brigade to bring news of their arrivall, but happily intercepted, and wounded by our Scouts, and left for dead. So that neither Enemy had the knowledge of each others condition; But the *Worceſter* forces advanced within two flight ſhot of the place, whileſt our men were ſcattered here and there in the chaſe of a vanquiſhed Enemy, nor did the Governor when the firſt brunt was over, expect an after-birth.

The firſt diſcovery was made by Collonel *Broughton*, and Captain *Backhouſe*, upon whom a blunt fellow charged up from the head of the main body in the entrance of a croſſe-lane. Him they ſurpriſed in the name of friends, drew him aſide from the view of the company, and informed themſelves of the ſtrength at hand. Forthwith they make a noiſe in the Enemies hearing, pretending to fall on with a body of ours ready for a charge, by the ſudden out-cry daunted and drove back that ſtrong party, and made way for the Governors retreat, and thoſe with him, which were now diſperſed, ſecure of the victory, and following the chaſe. Our ſtragling perſuers were gathered together, drew back to the place of the fight, and there expected the charge, choofing rather to make good the victory atchieved upon ſo great hazard and diſadvantage, then venture all by ſeeking out a freſh and doubtfull Enemy with our few and weary Souldiers. Onely three or foure ſlain, five or ſix wounded, amongſt whom Collonel *Harley* received a ſhot in the arme. The ſucceſſe of this deſigne cut off the maine ſtrength of the Kings forces in South-wales: and ſecured the Countrey from our plundering neighbours on the Welch ſide. The body of Collonel *Min* was brought to *Gloceſter*, and vouchſafed an honorable buriall. His death was by his own party much lamented, together with the loſſe of a brave Regiment that were commanded from *Ireland* to fight here againſt the juſtice of that cauſe, upon which the *Iriſh* was

was held up, and owned by the whole Kingdom. And it hath been obſerved, that as the *Iriſh* Pacification was unlucky and reproachfull to the outſide of the Kings actions amongſt his Proteſtant party; ſo the Commanders that came thence were unfortunate in all their deſignes, and in the end miſerable.

When the Governor had ſetled his affaires at home in reaſonable ſecurity, his deſires and aime was to put in for the advantage of a more generall ſervice: and pitched upon theſe two propoſals, the one to make a diverſion from the Lord Generals Army then blocked up in the Weſt, the other to keep back Prince *Ruperts* ſtragling forces which then lay between *Shrewsbury* and *Worceſter* a little after the great Northern defeat. And theſe the Prince earneſtly deſired, that upon this rubbiſh he might frame an Army for the cloſe of the Summer action.

Wherefore if poſſible to endeavour a diverſion from the Weſt-parts, the Governor drew towards *Bath* with ~~one~~ hundred horſe and foot (the Forces lent to Sir *William Waller* being in part returned) with a purpoſe to diſturbe the Kings quarters, and withdraw a part of the maine Army to inable *Briſtoll* and *Bath*. On the hils likewiſe he might expect to encounter Prince *Rupert* from *Briſtoll*, who fled thither with about three hundred horſe preſently after the diſcomfit in the *North*. But within a few dayes upon advertiſement of the miſcarriage and diſaſter of the Lord Generals Army, he drew back, and the rather having intelligence that the Prince had commanded Collonel *Charles Gerrard* out of Wales, and the reliques of his own Army to break their way through our countrey into the Weſtern parts. Theſe were reported to lie neer *Worceſter*, waiting there for a clear paſſe, and by all means to eſcape Collonel *Maſſie*. They were to take their courſe over *Coltſwold* Hils, or by the borders of *Herefordſhire* to make into the Forreſt of Deane, and thence over the River at *Auſt*. Wherfore the Governors maine buſineſſe was to prevent this this Conjunction, and block up either paſſage. In his retreat towards *Glouceſter*, he fell down before *Berkely* and lodged his men two dayes in the Town, ſummoned the Caſtle, and made

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ſhew of an aſſault; but this was taken up in the way beſides the intention of the deſigne, and though the loſſe of ſix or eight men by their own folly gave Collonel *Veale* occaſion of boaſting, yet for all the pretended great ſervice in maintaining the place that was never attempted, he was immediately after caſhered that Government by the Princes order. But before Collonel *Maſſie* drew thence, he cauſed the boats to be fired at *Anſt* paſſage: and intending to paſſe over *Seaverne* at *Frampton* to meet Prince *Ruperts* Forces, received an alarme that they were already in *Goſſe Lawne*, whereupon our marching Brigade haſted to *Glouceſter*, where they found that many of thoſe troops under the command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were newly come into *Herefordſhire*, and that a party of them joyning with Collonel *Lingens* horſe had advanced within ſix miles of the City to ſpoil and plunder thoſe Pariſhes that were joyned in one Aſſociation to a mutuall defence, and the aid of this Government.

The Governor perſued his deſigne drew forth towards the *Lawne*, and ſtopped their courſe on that ſide *Seaverne*. Whereupon they took their courſe through *Worceſter*, where they obtained an additionall ſtrength from Collonel *Sandys* his horſe, and Sir *William Ruſſels* horſe and foot, with all the foot that *Dudly* Caſtle and thoſe parts could afford them. And now conceiving themſelves able both in power and advantage of the march, having (as they ſuppoſed) left Collonel *Maſſie* beyond *Seaverne*, and too farre in the Reare to reach them, reſolved to break forth, hoping both to paſſe clear, and relieve *Banbury* in the way. But the Governor being certified of their march, forthwith conveyed his men over *Seaverne* at *Tewkeſbury*, and recovered the hils as farre as *Stanway*, and got before them, in the meane while gave notice to the Major of the Earle of *Denbighs* horſe, that lay neer *Tewkesbury* in *Worceſterſhire*, who the ſame day brought up two hundred horſe to joyn with our party on the hils. Nevertheleſſe the Governor underſtanding nothing, but that the Enemy was marched to *Stratford upon Avon*, and ſo beyond his reach, ſent back the Foot almoſt tyred with tedious and continuall marches, and with his horſe

horſe reſolved to joyn with Collonel *Fines* at *Banbury*. But he found at the return of the Scouts, that about five hundred horſe neer at that inſtant got over the River on this ſide *Eveſham*, and made their approach neer his quarters, and that a party of Foot were left at the Bridge to make good the repaſſe; one half of the Forces in the mean while lying at *Eveſham*, and the other neer *Parſhorne*. Our men appearing on the hils, the Enemy took the alarme retreated ſuddenly, and for a while lodged themſelves beyond *Worceſter*. Their number was computed by ſuch as beheld them to be about five and twenty hundred horſe, ill armed, and the ſurviving part of the ruines of the Northern Army. Again to prevent their incurſions into the remote parts of the County beyond *Severne*, a competent ſtrength of horſe and foot were commanded over, and withall to attend the Enemies motion.

In the midſt of this and other deſignes of conſequence at that time depending, the Governor with all the Officers of horſe and foot were much diſtreſſed for lack of that ſupport, which the neceſſity of the ſervice did require, and the extreme want of the common Troopers drove them daily away. Every performance in the whole courſe of this Government was filled with much diſtempers: and though the exigence of the Souldier hath been great in many places, yet the gleanings of other Brigades have been better then our vintage. No Officer had any portion in the Contribution money: no pay for the troops for many moneths together, no allowance for *Scout*, Spie, or Intelligencer, who obſerve onely the liberall and open handed, nor the hopes of reward to incourage the Souldiers gallantry: That the indeavours of the Governor in keeping together, and increaſing the Forces were nigh loſt. Neither was any means allotted to the ſupply of the neceſſary attendants and Officers of a marching Brigade. And in the heat of ſervice the nature and terms of the Governors command were diſputed, and twas very queſtionable whether to provide for the attendants of a march: that onely a proportion ſeemed to be cared for, that might live within the walls of *Glouceſter*, and nothing to further ſuch action that might reſtrain, and leſſen the ſtrength of the Enemy, preſerve the Countrey, and paſſe

shew of an assault; but this was taken up in the way besides the intention of the designe, and though the losse of six or eight men by their own folly gave Collonel *Veale* occasion of boasting, yet for all the pretended great service in maintaining the place that was never attempted, he was immediately after cashered that Government by the Princes order. But before Collonel *Massie* drew thence, he caused the boats to be fired at *Anst* passage: and intending to passe over *Seaverne* at *Frampton* to meet Prince *Ruperts* Forces, received an alarme that they were already in *Gosse Lawne*, whereupon our marching Brigade hasted to *Glocester*, where they found that many of those troops under the command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were newly come into *Herefordshire*, and that a party of them joyning with Collonel *Lingens* horse had advanced within six miles of the City to spoil and plunder those Parishes that were joyned in one Association to a mutuall defence, and the aid of this Government.

The Governor persued his designe drew forth towards the *Lawne*, and stopped their course on that side *Seaverne*. Whereupon they took their course through *Worcester*, where they obtained an additionall strength from Collonel *Sandys* his horse, and Sir *William Russels* horse and foot, with all the foot that *Dudly* Castle and those parts could afford them. And now conceiving themselves able both in power and advantage of the march, having (as they supposed) left Collonel *Massie* beyond *Seaverne*, and too farre in the Reare to reach them, resolved to break forth, hoping both to passe clear, and relieve *Banbury* in the way. But the Governor being certified of their march, forthwith conveyed his men over *Seaverne* at *Tewkesbury*, and recovered the hils as farre as *Stanway*, and got before them, in the meane while gave notice to the Major of the Earle of *Denbighs* horse, that lay neer *Tewkesbury* in *Worcestershire*, who the same day brought up two hundred horse to joyn with our party on the hils. Nevertheless the Governor understanding nothing, but that the Enemy was marched to *Stratford upon Avon*, and so beyond his reach, sent back the Foot almost tyred with tedious and continuall marches, and with his horse

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withall to the relief of remote garrisons. Nevertheleſſe the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a power was required in theſe parts as might check the Enemy in all his marches and recruits: and this ſtrength far greater then the ſtint of that conſtant number which the garriſons took up.

In this extremity the Governor was conſtrained to act, and marched on in the purſuit of the Enemy, who kept randevous neer *Hereford* with fourty two troops of horſe, reſolving to paſſe the *Severne* at *Auſt*, not daring to adventure over the hill Countrey. And to guard the paſſage, Prince *Rupert* ſent into the Forreſt a commanded party of five hundred horſe and foot. Theſe began to fortifie *Beachly* for a laſting guard, a place of extreme difficult approach, being a gut of land running out between *Seaverne* and *Wye*, and the onely commodious paſſage, from *Wales* to *Briſtoll*, and the Weſtern parts, being the maine entercourſe of the Kings Army, and a ſtrong reſerve for the laſt exigence. It was high time therefore to cruſh this deſigne, and nip the bud of ſo great hopes. The Governor advanced upon them ſome foure dayes after they began their fortifications, and had drawn the trench half way from the banks of one River to the other, when the other part was well guarded with an high quick-ſet hedge (which they lined with Musketiers) and a ditch within with a fair meadow beyond, wherein they had made a re-intrenchment. The ſtrength conſiſted neer of ſix hundred horſe and foot, which at the firſt coming on lighted upon a partie of horſe from *Chepſtow*, took ſome, and drove the reſt into the River: then faced the Enemy within Musket ſhot that Evening, and ſo continued the next morning, waiting the opportunitie of an aſſault, for at high water the place was inacceſſible, by reaſon of their ſhips which guarded each River with Ordnance, lying levell with the banks, and clearing the face of the approach from *Wye* to *Seaverne*. Wherfore the Governor taking the advantage of lowe water drew forth a party for the on-ſet. Theſe were brought neer the place of entrance, where the Enemy intended a draw-bridge, with order to ſtorme the works which as yet were not finiſhed. Out of the forlorn hope the Governor had ſelected ten Musketiers to creep along the hedges, and thence to fall into the very breach

breach. These gave the first alarme, and caused the Enemy (according to the meaning of the plot) to spend their first shot in vain. And when the first volly was given, ere they could recharge their Muskets, the Governor gave the signall by the discharge of a Pistoll: on went the Forlorn-hope, and the Reserve following, the Trumpets sounding, and the Drums beating, run up the Works, rushed in among them, and fell upon the hack, when the whole and each part of the action was carried on without interruption, and the Souldiers went up in such a regular march, and so great solemnity, that it seemed more like the pomp of a triumph then the confused face of a fight. Of the Enemy some were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, besides some few that recovered the boats, and many of them that took the water were drowned. And to grace the service, it was performed in the full view of a multitude on *Chepstow* side, whilest the great guns plaid from each River which cast beneath the banks by the lowe ebbe did no execution, but by their noise, and semblance of terror, both raised the Souldier, and conduced to the majesty of the victory.

This good successe, and the season held forth a fair opportunitie to compasse an other designe at that time in agitation. Some overtures were made by Lieutenant Collonel *Kyrle* of the delivering of *Monmouth* into our hands. Many did urge the present acceptance of the plot, and an hasty performance, and were discontented in that which they called slackness in the Governor: when as neither the method of the plot was propounded in the generall (the circumstances being left free) nor the present state of things gave leave to manage the businesse, when the following Army of P: *Rupert* was to be intercepted, a work of greater concernment, and more beseeming a publick spirit then this latter: But at that time twas the usuall mistake of particular Associations to confine every enterprise to their own Counties, and divide the Common-wealth into so many petty kingdoms. And in this did Collonel *Massie* deny himself, in spending the latter part of the Summer in prosecuting a lesse plausible and appearing service, though of larger concernment. But having now pursued the Princes horse into *Wales*, and destroyed the Enemies project in fortifying *Beachly*,

he quartered with his horſe and foot neer *Monmouth* on the Forreſt ſide; and receiving an anſwer to a meſſage lately ſent to Lieutenant Collonel *Kyrle*, propounded unto him, and followed this way. That he would feigne a Poſt from *Glouceſter* ſide to deſire a ſudden return with his forces thitherward, to ſecure that part of the Countrey from the Enemy, which was already fallen out from *Briſtoll*, and *Berkley*: and this meſſage was to come to his hands at Mr. *Halls* houſe of *High meadow*, a grand Papiſt, where it would take wings for its diſpatch to *Monmouth*, by which means *Kyrle* commanding the horſe might eaſily draw forth ſome troop to follow the Rear of our party. Hereupon the Governor feigned a ſudden retreat to *Glouceſter*, and having marched back three miles, lodged his forces in a thicket of the Forreſt: & ſending his Scouts abroad, prevented the Enemies diſcovery. In the mean while the intelligence reaches *Monmouth*, & Leift: Col: *Kyrle* draws out, whom the Governour ſurpriſed at midnight in *High meadow houſe*, with his troop of thirty horſe: and with as little noiſe as poſſible advanced thence to *Monmouth*. Neverthelеſſe twas not ſo deep a ſilence but the alarme was given by the Cornet of the troop, who eſcaped the ſurpriſall, and the attempt made the more difficile, if not deſperate. The Town took the alarme, ſtood upon their guard, expecting an Enemy. Notwithſtanding this, *Kyrle* with an hundred ſelect horſe arrived at the Towns end, confidently came up to the draw-bridge, pretended a return with many priſoners taken, perſwaded the guards, and prevailed with Coll: *Holtby* the Governor of the Town by the Officers of the guard, to let down the draw-bridge, which was done but with much jealouſie, and a ſtrong guard, & the bridge preſently drawn up again: inſomuch that the firſt party were like to be held priſoners in the Town. Our forlorn hope ſaw that it was time to lay about them, they declare themſelves, over-power the guard, and make good the bridge: and in this there wanted not thoſe that kept a ſtrict watch over *Kyrles* deportment, who acted his part with dexterity and valour. Our body of horſe and foot were at hand, had a large entrance, ſubdued the Town in a moment, and ſpared the blood of the ſurpriſed Souldiers. But the dark and rainy night fitted the gover-

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nour of *Monmouth* with the major part of the garriſon for an eſcape over the dry graft. We took one Major, three Captains, and divers inferior Officers, threeſcore common Souldiers, five barrels of powder, and ſome arms: but the Town it ſelf was the beſt prize, being the key of *Southwales*, and the onely ſafe entercourſe for the Kings Army between the Weſt, *Wales*, and the Northern parts.

The taking of *Monmouth* gave a fearful alarme to the whole Countrey, eſpecially to the Earl of *Worceſter* at *Ragland* Caſtle, who raiſed the Countrey, and called in Prince *Ruperts* horſe to their aſſiſtance. The *Ragland* Papiſts made the poore *Welch* believe that we came to put man, woman, & child to the ſword, and filled their fancies with as many ſtrange conceits of the Roundheads, as the poore *Spaniards* had of the *Engliſh* after their revolt from *Rome*, it being eaſie to perſwade an irrational and ſtupid people. Forthwith they appear in arms againſt us. Wherfore two dayes after our entrance, the Governor ſent out a ſmall party of Muſkettiers, commanded by Capt: *Rochford*, to quaſh the riſing of the Countrey. Our men find out the randevous, with a kind of guard defended by Captain *Gainsford*, with his ragged Regiment. Theſe upon the firſt onſet were all put to flight, ran an hundred wayes like a barbarous people, were purſued by our horſe, about twenty knocked on the head and ſixteen taken priſoners. To revenge this loſſe, Sir *Will: Blaxton* with his brigade of horſe, joyns with the Countrey Trainbands, and the forces from *Ragland*, and *Chepſtow*, making (according to the beſt relations, five hundred horſe, and twelve hundred foot. Of this preparation we were not advertiſed, till they fell upon one of our horſe quarters in a ſtrong houſe neer *Monmouth*, where we lodged two troops, and by good hap ten Muſkettiers to ſecure the quarters. The houſe was made good by the reſolution of Captain *Bayly*, and Leift: *Page*, till the Major of the horſe had drawn up the troops, & faced the Enemy, whileſt the Governor commanded out of *Monmouth* a hundred and fifty Muſketiers. But before our foot could reach the houſe, their horſe drew thence, encountred with a party of ours, & being recharged by Major *Backhouſe*, were beaten back to the foot. By this time our Muſketiers were brought up, and

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in the first charge put the Enemy to a confused running retreat, slew seventy, and wounded many, took threescore prisoners. Of the Officers, a Major of horse, and two Captains were slain, one taken, and Sir *William Blaxton* shot in the thigh. But the pursuit had an early stop by a small river which the Enemy passed, & plucked up the bridge: or their foot had been wholly routed and taken. The prisoners that were of the Countrey people the Governor entreated kindly, and after a few dayes sent them home by parcels, and each man with a little note or letter directed to his master, or the severall Parishes, to signifie that the intention of the Parliament, and the present government, was not to destroy, or enslave their persons, or take away their livelihoods; but to preserve their lives and fortunes, to open the course of justice, & free them of their heavy burthens under the forces of *Rupert* a *Germane* Prince. At the free discharge of the captives, they began to resent the Governors humanity, as before by the slaughter of their men they had felt the force of arms. And the dispersed papers did in part undeceive the people, and dislodge their fears; our horse marching peaceably, and doing no spoil or violence.

After the appeasing of the Countrey tumults, the indeavours of the Governor were to reduce that people to a willing, and cordiall obedience. He dispatched many letters of invitation to the gentlemen of the Countrey, and gave assurance to the best affected of his purpose to defend & make good the Town. But all were silent, and not two valuable persons did own the businesse. On the other side, they did not stir a foot at the summons of the Earl of *Worcester:* and in confidence of the justice of this party they frequented our markets; wheras at our first approach they drove away all their cattell, into the remote parts of the county: yet most of the gentlemen fled from their houses. The greatest part of P: *Ruperts* forces lie still under our arrest in *Wales*, where they decrease and drop away, discontent and burden the Countrey, between whom there arise perpetuall quarrels. And the truth is, even those people whose affections comply with the Kings designe, could never correspond with the Souldier of that faction, with whom there is no dealing for very friends. Insomuch that the generall hatred of the souldier might drive in to the Parliament, a moderate enemy, and such

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as breathe a more cool ſpirit of malignity, when the State ſhall reach out the hand to clear the way, and make good the engagement.

Collonel *Maſſie* ſeems now to have ſpread the Branches of his government beyond the ſap and ſtrength of the root, and the extreme parts grow burdenſome to the main body. He had neither horſe nor foot to maintain what was gotten, conſidering the ſtrivings of the Enemy to repoſſeſſe themſelves of *Monmouth*. For which end the whole power of *Southwales* that is fit for the march under the command of Collonel *Gerrard* are come as far as *Abergenny*, *Vske*, and *Ragland*. Sir *John Winter* muſt bring forth his maſter-peece to the world, and once more aſſiſted with four hundred from *Briſtoll*, purchaſed at a high rate, and added to a hundred of his own men, with all the aid Prince *Rupert* can ſend, undertakes to fortifie *Beachly*. The noiſed ſtrength of the Enemy round about did contribute to the deſigne with all fierceneſſe, ſince the want of a guard upon this paſſage did render all *Southwales* of little value. And it highly concerned us to indeavour the preventing this project, which threatned the ruine of the Forreſt, the intercepting of the paſſage between *Glouceſter* and *Monmouth*, and to render that garriſon in great part uſeleſſe. The Governor had a hard game to play, alwayes put upon deſperate hazards without a ſufficiencie to accompliſh or make good. For the caſe was queſtionable whether to deſert *Monmouth*, or ſeek to maintain it, having no competent number for a Town yet unfortified, generally malignant, in an Enemies countrey, at a great diſtance, and with a difficult paſſe: but that the wonderfull ſucceſſe of *Beachly* twice fortunate determined the doubt. The buſineſſe was not capable of deliberation, nothing but a quick diſpatch had the ſhew of ſafety. *Gerrard* was to be kept from joyning his fortes with theſe in the Forreſt, who when once fortified were not to be beaten out, having all the advantages of Sea and land. And although his Forces hovered about the Countrey, pretending to fall upon *Monmouth*, yet about midnight, *Octob.* 13. one hundred Musketiers were drawn thence with eight troops of our poore horſe unto *Clurewall*, expecting there to meet the *Newnham* foot drawn off for this deſigne, the garriſon ſupplyed in the interim by the Countrey Voluntiers. In the cloſe of the next evening they approached neer the Enemy, where no good preſage did favour the

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buſines. The horſe failed ſix houres of the time appointed, whom the conſtant want of pay, and hands bound up from plunder, made irregular, and diſabled the Commander in chief to reward or puniſh. Himſelf muſt manage the deſigne not by advice onely, but perſonall action, and act a part in the duty of each inferior Officer. That night we beat up their ambuſcades, forced them within their works, and by frequent alarms kept them waking, yet as much as poſſible from working. The next morning at break of day was the time reſerved for a ſtorme: but the foot were all ſtragling, and could not be gathered up, inſomuch that the Governors own troop with no more then fourſcore Musketiers made the onſet, and by Gods help performed gallantly. They found the Enemy well prepared, the works followed with dexterity and diligence, with much art and coſt on palliſadoes, and breaſt-works, and the moſt defective places from *Wye* to *Severne* defended with a tall quick-ſet hedge, & a ditch within, the Pinnaces riding in each River with Ordnance to play upon us, and the line ſo ſtrongly guarded with hammer Guns, & Murtherers placed on the Flanks at either end, that it ſeemed impoſſible to ſtorme the ſame by day without apparent great loſſe; yet was the Governour to wait for lowe water, that the Guns from the ſhips might not reach us, which happily fell out at the opening of the day; yet were we in the reach of the Ordnance planted on the *Welch* ſhore, and equall to our height. He laid holdon the inſtant of ſeaſon, with a ſmall party in a ſilent march came cloſe to the works; wherupon after the taking of the alarme, when the Enemy had ſpent many ſhot, our men forced two or three Palliſadoes, that ſome of the foot and the forlorn hope of horſe brake in: but finding themſelves at a ſtand between the Palliſadoes and the quick-ſet hedge lined with Muskettiers, began to face about when there was no looking back, nor paſſing forwards, by reaſon of the continuall ſhot. In this party was the Governor engaged, who now became the Leader of the Forlorn-hope, and with not a little difficulty foreed his own horſe over the hedge, fell in among them, was recharged furiouſly, his head-peece knocked off with the but-end of a Musket, & ſtrangely preſerved, till three or foure foot and ſome horſe brake over the hedge after him, then there came up a full body of horſe and foot, and by maine force bore down before them a reſolved and prepared Enemie,

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slew thirty, and tooke prisoners a Leiutenant Colonell, one Major, two Captaines, three Leiutenants, three Ensignes, with other Officers, and common Souldiers, to the number of two hundred and twenty. They forced Sir *John Winter* downe the cliff into the river, where a little boate lay to receive him, and convey him thence into the ships, riding within Musket shot of the shore, with many Musqueteers and great shot. Many tooke the water, some whereof were drowned, and others saved themselves by recovering the boates. Prince *Rupert* the Patron of this designe, was expected there the next high water, being then upon the river, but extreamely prevented and crossed in the height of his desire and confidence.

It was a brave exployte and true victory upon such an eminent disadvantage over a formidable enemy. They were stronger within the Fortifications then sixe times the same number in the open field. The storme that hovered was blowne over, & we calme, and secure in the possession of *Monmouth*. But as for this necke of land so fortunate and famous to the Government of *Glocester* for two remarkable victories: though Sir *John Winter* and the *Welsh* forces had their eye continually upon it, yet the neglect of the place was no oversight in our Garrison, but caused by the incapacity of the place it selfe, it being impossible to be held by us till we were Masters at Sea, because at every floud the ships on the Seaverne lay levell with the highest ground. Wherefore it was resolved by a Councell of Warre that the buildings should be demolished, and all trees and hedges cut downe. The taking and securing of *Monmouth* was a faire beginning, and almost the possession of halfe *Wales*. But as yet the County became unserviceable to us, and we made loosers by enlarging our bounds.

The Substance of *Glocestershire* was expended in maintaining the Garrison foote, and the Horse left wholly unfurnished, yet bounde up from plunder and rapine: neither did we finde that assistance in the County as was expected and promised: considering which, with our meane forces and slender pay, no progresse could be made in gaining the Country, but the time was spent in light skirmishes, and surprizals betweene petty parties on both sides: and we sustained some losse by Colonel *Broughtons* Captaine Leiuetenant who with fifty souldiers undertooke to garrison a house

neare *Godridge* Caſtle, neither obvious to releife, nor caring to fortify or ſtore the place with victualls. This was done in the Governours abſence without order, d ſavowed by all, and owned onely by the Captaine himſelfe: whoſe plea was, that he had no ſupport for his men, and was enforced to get his living there. But within a few dayes his houſe was fired upon him, and he and all his carried priſoners to *Hereford* before releife could reach them.

Notwithſtanding our neceſſitous condition, the Parliament were informed of great multitudes, and a burden of ſupernumerary Officers and Souldiers, and ſeemed to require out of the ſuperfluity of thoſe parts an aſſiſtance more ample then the maine ſtrength of the place. It was hard to take a juſt and full view at ſuch a diſtance; and peradventure perpetuall action, and the great things effected here, might multiply the numbers of the Garriſon, and repreſent things in the largeſt forme. But the voyce of the people gave out that we were kept low by the malice of miſinformations: and that the ſouldiers cry could not be heard, becauſe they were apt to be thought ever craving and querulous. Wherefore at that ſeaſon there came ſome particular commands from the Powers above, which did not correſpond with the State of our Affaires, or the ground of the *enjoyned* Service. November the tenth Colonell *Maſſie* received Inſtructions from the Committee of both Kingdomes to march with all the ſtrength he could make, into the Borders of *Oxfordſhire* to prevent the joyning of the *Welſh* forces under the Conduct of Colonell *Gerrard* with the reſt of the Kings Army, or to take advantage of the enemy, or joyne with the Parliaments Army as occaſion did offer. This command found him overwhelmed with manifold imployments, and in that inſtant of time ſome *Monmouthſhire* Gentlemen tendred their aſſiſtance to the taking in of *Chepſtow* Caſtle, which the Governour was ready to embrace, (that *Wales* might fall under the power of the Parliament) but with much warineſſe, having many irons in the fire. Nevertheleſſe lying under a greater weight of envie, he reſolved to obey the former Orders againſt the progreſſe and reaſon of his affaires; wherefore he called off his owne Regiment of horſe from about *Monmouth*, where the enemies vigilancie was not little, and the malignity of the towne wondrous great; with the Regiment of horſe, he haſted towards

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Everſham, where the Enemy had arrived before, whoſe march he could not interrupt or retard ſince they were eight for one. But before this march having drawne a ſmall party out of *Monmouth*, he commanded from *Glouceſter* his own company, and another company of the ſame Regiment to the ſecurity of that Garriſon, and committed the charge of the Towne in his abſence to Major *Throgmorton* then Serjeant Major to Colonell *Harley*, who by Order of Parliament was deſigned to that Government, but with no Power to command out a Partye upon any deſigne, having no thought that the forces left there were fit to be imployed upon any ſervice, more then the defence of that place: Beſides, he had waved the offers of *Chepſtow* till he might gaine an aſſurance of making good ſo much ground in an enemies Country; for it was alwayes his deſire in ingaging any people to thoſe maſters whom he ſerved, to foreſee a poſſibility of continuing that engagement, leaſt hee might doe them a greater diſſervice by daſhing the reſolution of others, who intended the ſame courſe, and by graſping beyond his reach take off their inclinations who might be gained in due time. Notwithſtanding the Governors expreſſe Order, at the earneſt ſolicitation and promiſes of ſome well-affected in the Country, and the vehemencie of others, who thirſted after the glory of ſome atchievement in the Governors abſence, the Major yeelded for the drawing out of a party for *Chepſtow*, and ſtretched his power beyond the knowndiſcipline of warre, fearing either the brand of cowardiſe, or the cenſure of a man unwilling to doe his Country ſervice, though he declared his judgement againſt it. Wherfore he advanced towards *Chepſtow* with three hundred commanded men: having ſome conceived aſſurance of gaining the Caſtle by ſurrender or onſlat. The newes is conveyed forthwith to the Enemy, who draw together all the ſtrength they can make, of horſe and foote from *Ragland*, *Abergeveny*, *Hereford*, and *Godridge*; and November the nineteenth about breake of day, came neere the towne, and lay undiſcovered behind a riſing ground, at a quarter of a miles diſtance, never thinking to make an attempt, muchleſſe to ſurpriſe it; but as the Governors inavoydeable abſence, and the impertinent enterprize of *Monmouth* garriſon did cauſe their approach, there being not above a hundred and fifty left there; ſo the negligence

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EGULAR PAGINATION

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negligence of the Captaine to whom the Keyes were intrusted in the Majors absence, gave up the towne into their hands. So remisse were the slender guards, that the Treually was beaten & none tooke the alarme. The enemy observed it, and tooke the courage to attempt the surprisall, came upon the higher side of the towne, that looked towards *Hereford*, having onely a sloping banke cast up to a reasonable height, with a dry graft of no depth; Insomuch that the Gaurds and Sentinells being all asleepe, or supinely negligent, above forty men presently climbed over, and fell downe to the next Port, where they found no more then sixe men, who fled from the guard upon their comming on; with that one takes an iron barre, breakes the chaine, forces the gate, and sets it open to the whole body of horse, who rid up the towne with full career, seased upon the maine guard before one man could be ready to give fire, and tooke the rest in their beds; it was done in a moment, where wee lost Colonell *Broughton*, foure Captaines, Lieutenants and Ensignes, some of the Committee, together with common souldiers, in all, about one hundred and threescore prisoners, two Sakers, besides a Drake, and nine hammer Guns taken at *Beachly*, with Ammunition and Provision, and at least foure hundred muskets.

The newes of the taking of *Monmouth* reached Colonell *Massie* neere *Burford*, prosecuting the commands of the Committee of both Kingdomes, and there abiding to meete the Lord *Grandeston*, with the *Worcester* forces who endeavour for *Oxford*; hence he makes haste to the reliefe of the party sent out against *Chepstow*, and to bring off the rest that remaine upon their guards in that County: and at *Gloucester* understood that the party sent for *Chepstow* were safely landed, on this side *Wye*, having effected nothing of their designe; the Governor met them in the Forrest, and thence marched to *Rosse*, where he hoped to have passed the bridge, to the releefe of *Pembridge* Castle, which was made an out-guard to the garrison of *Monmouth*, but found the bridge broken downe, and the river made unpassable, by the sinking of boates on the other side, and a guard of horse to defend it. Here we had some disputes with the Enemy for two dayes: but those in the Castle having no meanes of a longer subsistence, were inforced to surrender upon quarter, and the freedome of their persons, most of the common souldiers revolted

volted, being formerly of the Kings Army, and our prisoners.

The base neglect of the Officers had not the least share in the unfortunate losse of *Monmouth*, and daily wants increased the neglect, and weakned the Governours hand in inflicting condigne punishment. And as the Parliaments Service was by many degrees cast backe by this misfortune: so the Forrest in speciall was hereby sorely plagued being left open to the spoyle of the enemy, against whom they were preingaged by Colonell *Massie*, and of late had declared themselves more freely. And though the generall multitude seemed to be brought in by the hatred of Sir *John Winter*, whose name and faction the people did abhorre; yet at that time the tie of affection and necessity drew them to a strong combination. To provide for their safety was the Governours maine care, wherefore instead of one good baracadoe, the Towne of *Monmouth*, sundry Garrisons are erected in the Forrest, for want of an ample strong-hold, and these expended greater portions of Men and Ammunition, though the limits of the Government were much contracted. The Garrison of *Highmeadow* did affront *Monmouth*, and furthered the preservation of that side: *Ruerdeane* was a stoppe to the Plunderers from *Hereford*; And those at *Kidney* were kept in by another party at *Nass*. These lesser places distracted the Governour on every side, willing but not able to preserve all them that desired to live under his protection.

Some weekes before, the Governour had commanded a party to *Yate*-Court within ten miles of *Bristoll*, to secure the Neighbourhood being a well affected people: but in this distraction he resolved to call off those men, who peradventure might maintaine themselves in a kinde of imprisonment; but in no wise preserve a Countrey that was then filled with the Kings forces, so neere *Bristoll*, and farre from releife, especially in the Winter. Nor at that season could they draw off without a stronger Guard and Conwoy. To this end the Governour marched to *Kingscoate* with three hundred Horse and Dragoones, intending to send a party to bring off that Garrison: but receiving advertisement of a Regiment of Horse, quartered that night in *Sodbury*, he fell downe thither, where he found an enemy there arrived to the assistance of Colonell *Gerrard* against *Yate*-House; here he resolved to undertake them that night,

 and

and had no ſooner appeared at the Townes end, but the firſt Guard fledde, and our men marched into the Town one by one, becauſe of the enemyes baracadoes, went up to the maine Guard conſiſting of forty Horſe, who being ſurprized & daunted at the ſudden entrance of our men, and not confiding in their owne ſtrength, quitted the place, and left the reſt in their quarters, moſt of which eſcaped on foote by the backe ſide of the Towne. We tooke foureſcore Horſes, many Armes, twenty priſoners, and of them two Captaines, and the next morning brought off the forlorne Garriſon.

In the depth of Winter, when each parcell of the Parliaments Army had retired into *London*, or the ſecurer parts of that Aſſociation, and the Kings forces were diſperſed into the ſeverall quarters: *Cirenceſter* and the hill Country of *Glouceſterſhire*, was aſſigned to Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, having the Command of three Brigades of foote, and aſſiſted with the Queenes, Prince *Ruperts*, Prince *Maurices*, and the Lord *Wilmots* Regiments of Horſe with others. His deſigne was to deſtroy the Countrey, and live upon the ruines thereof: whoſe incurſions on that ſide, and the *Briſtoll* forces about *Berkely*, with the *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth* forces on the other ſide, act ſomething daily to the ſpoyle of a miſerable Countrey, which is left as the Kingdomes forlorne hope, and croucheth daily betweene two burdens. The diſtreſſed Neighbourhoode did ſeeme to challenge thoſe ſeverall Armyes then in being, which lay ruſting in their quarters, to keepe the Aſſociated Countyes where no feare was, when they might prevent the ruine of their freinds, and ſtarve the enemy who live upon our fatneſſe; when they might hinder the Kings Recruits, diſturbe their Winter calmes, and make them fight for the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of their owne Territoryes. But in the deepe ſilence of that part of the Kingdome, theſe parts are borne downe by the maine Bulke of the Kings Army, without the leaſt inablement at preſent, or the hopes of future releife.

The enemyes whole burden reſts upon this Government. Colonell *Maſſie* placed a Guard at *Lypiat*, commanded a party of Horſe and Dragoones to *Stronde* a place moſt expoſed to ſpoyle: and ſet Guardes of Horſe at ſeverall places of advantage. Theſe Guardes affronted Sir *Jacob Aſhley* in the ſtoppe of Contribution

and

and Plunder, the indignation whereof drew him out of *Cirenceſter* with foure Regiments of Horſe to *Hampton* Roade, where he divided his men, and ſent them out three ſeverall wayes to ſurprze our Horſe in their quarters, and plunder the Countrey. Each party fayled of the deſigne, through the favour of Providence to that well affected people. At each Guardes ſome few that tooke the Alarme did encounter and ſtave off the enemyes firſt violence, till the reſt of a few ſlender troopes were drawne up, and encouraged by the Governours fortunate arrivall from *Glouceſterſhire* at that inſtant, charged and overcame a farre greater power, which were alſo engaged to fight by their heavy plunder, and difficult returne. In the whole about eight or nine ſlaine, and twenty of the beſt men of the Queenes and Princes Regiment taken priſoners, and of theſe one Captaine, and Cornet. The ſucceſſe did revive and engage the Countrey.

Yet after a few dayes Sir *Jacob Aſhley* marched out of *Cirenceſter* with a greater power of Horſe and Foote, and aſſaulted the Guard at *Lypiat* in the abſence of the Captaine that commanded there, with inſtructions from the Governour to draw off, if at any time an Army fell downe. But the Houſe being unfortifyed was ſoone taken, and uncapable of defence, where we loſt a Lieutenant, and fifty private Souldiers. At which very time we had lodged three hundred foote within *Muſerden* Houſe ſent thither the day before, with orders to defend it as a Garriſon, who had no knowledge of the enemyes approach till they came within halfe a mile. They remained in the Houſe according to command, but in no defenſible poſture, nevertheleſſe expecting the Onſet every moment. The ſurprizall of theſe men was prevented by a meere accident of the Governours Arrivall, who faced the great Body with no more then ſixty Horſe, till the Foote were drawne off the Hills.

That the ſtrength of the Kings Army ſhould lie upon us, was not ſtrange, but that no care was had of a competent proviſion for a deſerving Country, was beyond the conceit of them that beheld our miſery. The enemy were ſtrong in horſe, and our few divided into ſo many parcells and ſwallowed up in the petty guards, that no ſooner could we drawe to the reſcue of one ſide, but the forces

on

on the other hand fell on to the ruine of the poore people. The Governor knowes no remedy but by daily ſhifting motions, and becomes an Ubiquitary: He can attempt no deſigne, but firſt in his owne perſon faceth the Enemy on the contrary ſide, and fills them with the alarme of his preſence; Sir *Jacob Aſhley* ſends Warrants for contributions to the gates of *Glouceſter*: The forces from *Hereford* were marched forth to *Canon-Froome* towards *Ledbury*; whereupon the Governor advanced with a party of horſe and foote as farre as *Boſbury* waiting for action, but ſtaied onely for a night, having placed guards towards *Worceſter* and *Hereford* in the moſt paſſible wayes for the Enemies approach, and fell into one of their quarters, tooke a Captaine and his Cornet, with ſome common Troopers, and fifteene horſes; the Enemy falling downe from *Cirenceſter* ſuddenly fetches home this party.

Whiles theſe things happened, the Governour received a command from the Committee of both Kingdoms to attempt *Campden* Houſe, newly Garriſoned by the Kings forces, under Sir *Henry Bard*; and the horſe of *Warwicke*, and *Coventry*, by command of the ſame Committee were to aide and receive Orders from him in the proſecution of this deſigne; Colonell *Maſſie* tooke courage to reſolve them of the incapacitie of that ſervice for the preſent, ſince it could not be done without greater loſſe to the State then the fortune of the action could countervaile; for it was a worke of continuance that required our whole ſtrength; and that ſide of the Country from which we drew muſt be given up to deſtruction, and the Enemy waited no greater advantage then to faſten the Governor upon a tedious enterprize: beſides, the intendment was unvailed in all thoſe parts that were required to ſend aide, and before the Orders of the grand Committee came to his hand, the *London* Mercuries had proclamed it to the world.

The Earl of *Worceſter*, the Lord *Herbert*, and their Agent, Sir *John Winter*, beſtirre themſelves to patch up the lingring life of the Garriſon at *Ludney*, and have procured from Prince *Maurice* at *Worceſter* a regement of horſe and dragoones, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was confident to have beaten up our ſmall guards in the Forreſt, and enlarge his owne quarters; to bring the Forreſt once more under his power to the deſtruction of the people, and the great advantage

vantage of the Kings Army, and *Briſtoll* in ſpeciall, furniſhing them with iron, wood & coales. The reminding of ſo great a miſchiefe to the Parliaments Service made the Governour carefull to prevent him, and with an anſwerable number of horſe and foote advanced into the Forreſt towards *Lidney*, where Sir *John* and his party got in before him. But after a few ſmall skirmiſhes, to no valuable loſſe on either ſide; the Governour ſet guards upon all the paſſages, and impriſoned the Enemy in their own ſtrong hold, and again drew off the maine body in the view of the Garriſon. The Enemy obſerving his march, and ſuppoſing the expedition for *Glouceſter*, ſallied out upon *Sully*-Houſe at a miles diſtance, and a temporary garriſon for the blocking up of *Lidney*. In the inſtant of time the Governour returnes to this guard, and underſtanding by the Scouts their neere approach, drew out a forlorne hope, faced and charged them, retreated alittle, and faced them againe with the exchange of few ſhot, till the Enemy were brought up ſo high that they diſcovered our body. Hereupon they make a ſudden retreate, our forlorne hope fall on, and the body followes, turned their horſe to flight, who forſooke the foote, and left moſt of them to our mercy. Here wee tooke one Captaine, with five and twenty common ſouldiers, having ſlaine a Captaine, two Leiutenants, and twenty ſixe ſouldiers. The whole action upon thoſe forces from *Worceſter* was performed onely with the loſſe of twenty horſes, and a few men ſurprized in their quarters, which nevertheleſſe coſt the Enemy the life of a Major. The paſſages from *Lidney* are all guarded by our horſe to ſtarve thoſe within, and preſerve the Forreſt from their plunder.

The Governour having his hands and thoughts filled with theſe diſtractions, was yet more perplexed by a freſh and unknowne engagement of Colonell *Stephans* in *Wiltſhire*. It happened that about this time the enemie had garriſoned an old, but repaired Caſtle at the *Devizes*. And to prevent the ſpoyle of the Country neere *Malmeſbury*, Colonell *Deveraux* had erected a garriſon at *Rouden* Houſe between the *Devizes* & *Malmesbury*; and before it was ſetled or well furniſhed with Ammunition and Proviſion, it was ſet upon, & ſorely ſtraightened: Colonell *Stephens* being newly made Governour of *Beverſton* Caſtle, was deſired to give aide to the reliefe of the houſe,

and ſets upon the ſervice without Colonell *Maſſies* Order, or knowledge in thoſe his manifold preingagements; wherefore hee advanced to ſuccour the beſieged with three Troopes of his owne Regiment, and ſome *Malmesbury* foote, and though he failed of a parry of horſe to be ſent from Colonell *Devereux*, undertooke the buſineſſe, broke through the Enemy with much difficulty and hazard, and relieved the houſe with proviſion and powder, but failed in the concluding part; for when he might with farre leſſe difficulty have forced the way back through a troubled enemy, he alighted unwarely and went into the houſe to refreſh himſelfe, thereby giving the beſiegers time to rally, and to caſt up a breaſtworke before the paſſage, that hee, with the reſt, being foure hundred horſe and foote, were all cooped together, and the poore beſieged are moſt deſperately ſtraitened by this kinde of reliefe. They without are five hundred ſtrong; the newes runnes to *Glouceſter* and calls for helpe, which had not needed, had Colonell *Stephens* imparted the buſineſſe to the Governour, as he ought, and waited to have ſet the Country in a poſture on all ſides to face the Enemy, whoſe inrodes in the meane while were expected from each quarter. They were already drawne out of *Cirenceſter*, *Farford* and *Lechlade*, and keept their Randevouz on the hills by *Cirenceſter*. From *Hereford* they ſtirre with a great ſtrength on that ſide, and in the Forreſt, thoſe that are penned up in *Lidney* ſtrive to breake priſon.

Notwithſtanding this at our firſt alarme, the Governour ſent his owne Captaine Leiutenant, and threeſcore of the choiſe horſe well appointed, and all that could be ſpared, unleſſe he would ruine the Forreſt: and now the worke of releeving this place is made more difficult, the Enemy round about being drawne together with a purpoſe to ſwallow them up, or more gladly to fight with Colonell *Maſſie* at ſuch advantage on the hills and farre from home; yet the beſt face is put on a bad matter, the threeſcore horſe were to joyne with an hundred horſe and dragoones from *Malmesbury* to breake through the Enemy, and theſe added to the foure hundred and thirty within the houſe, were conceived able to force a paſſage through the midſt of the firſt five hundred. But now a greater power are come up to the houſe, at leaſt three thouſand men: Sir *Jacob Aſhley* did

did contribute much to the ſtrength of the beſiegers by draining his quarters at *Cirenceſter*, whom the Governour could not prevent, nor follow, except with the loſſe of his intereſt in the Forreſt; onely he raiſed the Country about *Stroudwater*, to face the Garriſon of *Cirenceſter*; our horſe advanced up to the firſt guard, and ſlew the Sentinell, hoping by this alarme to draw backe the reſidue from *Rowden* Houſe: And though the weather diſperſed and drove backe the Country forces, yet ſuch hopes did revive the buſineſſe, that two rainy nights might be an opportune and active ſeaſon for Colonell *Stephens* to breake through, and then which no greater could be expected. Our ſecond party of horſe went on for *Malmesbury* to releeve the beſieged at *Rowden*, and by the way releeved *Beverſton* Caſtle with Ammunition, but came too late for the maine deſigne; for the more potent Enemy had ſo ſtrongly guarded the paſſages, that the releeſe of the houſe became deſperate, and they within preſently ſurrendred upon quarter for their lives.

The Regiments of horſe are much broken, and reduced to an inconſiderable number; the Enemy growes ſtrong, and a ſtreame of ill ſucceſſe flowes in upon us. Colonell *Hopton*, for whom the Governour procured a Commiſſion, upon his promiſe of raiſing foure hundred horſe and armes at his owne charge, without the helpe of the State or Country, having got together about threeſcore horſe, and forty foote, undertooke with theſe men to garriſon *Caſtle-ditch* neere *Ledbury* in *Herefordſhire*, having neither order nor directions from the Governour, who conceived the houſe not to be defended, and required him to deſiſt the enterprize; the order is neglected: But not many dayes after, a party drawne out of *Hereford*, had not lain before it foure and twenty houres, but he, with his forty foot, and twenty horſe were taken, and carried priſoners to *Hereford*, ere the Governor could come with releeſe, who lighted nevertheleſſe upon a few ſtraglers in the reare, and tooke thirteene priſoners.

Meane while Sir *John Winters* releife lyes under the arreſt, yet ſo as we would gladly ridde our hands: for the Guards ſet round his Houſe to the ſafety of the Forreſt, did alwayes diſtract our deſignes. Theſe Horſe are impatient of a longer impriſonment, and after a ſore diſtreſſe breake their way through our quarters into the utmoſt parts of the Forreſt towards *Chepſtow*, and joyne with

a partie of foote from *Chepſtow* landed at *Lancaught*, where they intended to fortify and to make good the Paſſe over *Wye*: by which meanes they might iſſue out of *Wales* at their pleaſure. The place containes foure hundred acres, having a very ſtraight entrance. Hereupon our ſeverall Guards drew together and ſummoned the Country to aide and came up to the enemy, who were divided in opinion: one part held it meete to make good the paſſage, the reſt perſwaded to draw out into the Field and fight. Theſe latter prevailed, and for a while both parties faced each other. Our men drew out a forlorne hope of Foote, the place ſo requiring, next unto theſe a forlorne hope of Horſe, and the reſt were appointed for a reſerve. Their Horſe violently charged our forlorne hope of Foote, who were ready to give backe when our Horſe came in opportunely and played their parts, whereat the foote tooke courage, and fell on all together, and with one charge turned the enemy to flight, that they killed few on the place, but drove them up to the River ſide, and fell upon the hacke in the purſuite, and ſo cooped them up that few eſcaped their hands. About foureſcore were ſlaine, of whom were Colonell *Gamme*, and Colonell *Vaugerris*; of the reſidue ſome adventured the River to recover the Frigate: many were drowned of whom Colonell *Poore* Governour of *Berkely* Caſtle; but Sir *John Winter* and his brother with ſome few beſides eſcaped onely of an hundred men from *Chepſtow*, and an hundred and foureſcore Horſe and Dragoones from *Lidney* Houſe. The remainder fell into our hands, an hundred and twenty taken priſoners, of whom two Leiutenant Colonells, foure Captaines, and divers inferiour Officers. This was the laſt blow of three which Sir *John Winter* received one in the necke of another.

Theſe things happened about the time of the taking of *Shrewsbury*, which called off the Kings forces from theſe parts: Sir *Jacob Aſhly* marched from *Cirenceſter*, and Prince *Rupert* out of *Herefordſhire* to releive his brother *Maurice* neere *Cheſter*. The Governour was imployed in obſerving the enemyes motion, but with a ſtrength every day more ſlender, having loſt moſt part of his own troope with ſome peeces of others by an other miſcarriage in fetching our Armes and Ammunition from *Warwicke*, and in the Conveying of ſome Clothiers Packes of great value, which were taken

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betweene *Campden* and *Banbury* through the miſguidance of the Officer that commanded.

Nevertheleſſe he advanced into the neerer parts of *Hereford ſhire* with two hundred Horſe and five hundred foote, to ſtartle the enemy or make ſome diverſion, ſuppoſing they bent their courſe to the releife of *Weſtcheſter*. Here he found great multitudes of the Countrey people appearing in Armes, but ſtanding on their owne Guard, and declaring themſelves for neither ſide. It was hoped nevertheleſſe they might be made of good uſe, and the beſt affected of them gave Colonell *Maſſie* that ſatisfaction as was meete, by whom he underſtood the condition of their engagements. The Governour of *Hereford* ſending for hay and contribution to his Garriſon, was ſo farre denyed by the Countrey that it came to blowes. The people riſing to reſiſt, ſome few men, and as it was reported women and children were ſlaine, and ſome carried priſoners to *Hereford*: alſo ſome of the *Hereford* forces were taken by the Countrey men. The next day the Alarum went throughout that ſide of the County, and ſome parts of *Worceſterſhire*. The people gather into a Body, and march to *Hereford*. Here they ſtayed ſome dayes with a reſolution to have certaine Articles granted by the Governour of that Garriſon. The ſumme of their demaunds were to this effect, that ſuch of theirs as were held priſoners there, ſhould be delivered forthwith; that ſatisfaction be given to the Country for the loſſe they ſuſtained by plunder, as alſo to the wives and children of thoſe that were ſlaine: that the Countrey might be freed from Contribution and all manner of Payment to the Souldier; that ſince the preſent forces of *Hereford* were not able to defend the County, they forthwith quit the Garriſon, and leave it to be kept by the Countrey, who are able to defend the ſame, and the whole County with leſſe charge. Theſe and the like triviall paſſages did they diſcover to the world, as it is wont to happen in ſuch popular Commotions. In the meane while ſeverall Poſts were diſpatched to Colonell *Maſſie* at *Ledbury*, and letters returned from him to them, and in particular to ſome Gentlemen, the cheifeſt and beſt affected. Theſe letters received by the Country people, tooke well with ſome; but the generall vote was that they needed not his helpe to gaine *Hereford*, which they conceived would be

delivered up by the Citizens, whom they knew to be of one minde with them. Other meſſengers came from them with intreaties to march up to *Hereford*, promiſing concurrence in aſſaulting the Towne; others would have him fall upon another Garriſon at *Canon-Froome*. The Governour made anſwer to the ſeverall Meſſages, that he deſired to conferre with ſome of their beſt intruſted Gentlemen and Yeomen, expecting meete ſecurity that either by Proteſtation or taking the Nationall Covenant they give him an aſſurance of their ſtanding with the Parliament, requiring them to caſt off the enemy, aud receive orders from him, to act nothing of themſelves without the conſent and approbation of Parliament, without which engagement he could not joyne or act with them. To this they replyed that they held it a thing of evill conſequence, and dangerous to declare themſelves, and they knew their ability of themſelves to performe what they had reſolved, intreating him to march backe with his men, giving aſſurance that they were our freinds, but could not declare for either ſide: this act of theirs being a juſt defence againſt the unjuſt proceedings of the Committee and Souldiers of *Hereford*, and to ſecure the Countrey from contribution and quarter. The Governour makes anſwer to this reſolve, That the courſe they had taken was neither ſafe nor legall; for if in this confuſed manner they ſhould gaine *Hereford*, it would doe them little ſervice: unleſſe they were able to keepe it from the Kings Army, and be able of themſelves to beate them wholly from that ſide *Seaverne*, that no incurſion could be made on their Countrey from any part: that they would diſtreſſe themſelves without releife, becauſe their illegall way would not be owned by the Parliaments forces: for though they have undertaken the preſervation of the Kingdome, yet they can give no protection to any that will not joyne with them in that way which the repreſentative Body of the Kingdome thinks fit. For a third party cannot be in *England*. And therefore they have no way of ſafety or juſtification in this action, but a ſpeedy declaration for the Parliament, from whom they would finde ſecurity and protection and after aſſurance of fidelity, a ſetling of the Countrey to their owne likings. He gave them likewiſe to underſtand, that the charge of the Parliament in maintaining the Souldiers, and of the Countrey in contribution,

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did thence ariſe; that the people being diſingaged in perſon might looke to their Husbandry; declaring withall that the diſunion of the Country not underſtanding their intereſt in the Parliament was the ſole cauſe of the entertayning of Souldiers. For had the whole Kingdome roſe in time and expreſſed themſelves of this opinion, that they would ſtand up as one man againſt the Popiſh partie, and enemy of their Country: the worke had beene long ſince done. But their drawing backe put the Parliament upon this way of rayſing Armes upon their ſtocke and expence. or the Kingdome muſt needs fall. He minded them likewiſe that if they loſt this opportunity, of cloſing with the Parliament, nothing but deſtruction would follow; that if they cloſed with *Hereford*, and compoſed the difference, this compliance might laſt till Prince *Ruperts* returne, and then they muſt looke to pay for this rebellion: but if they purpoſe at laſt to fall in with *Rupert*, it would haſten their bondage, yet give hem no ſecurity.

This kinde of entercourſe paſſed betweene Colonell *Maſſie* and the Countrey people; meane while he drew backe to *Roſſe*, waiting the event of this commotion, but not engaging himſelfe amidſt a promiſcuous and doubtfull multitude. He repreſented likewiſe to the Committee of both Kingdomes, what advantage the gaining, and diſadvantage the loſſe of this opportunity might be to the whole worke: that their expreſſions of their eſteeme of himſelfe, and his gentle dealing with them were great: that the weakneſſe of his forces, cheifely of Horſe, was the maine buſineſſe that cauſed the Major Part to decline his invitation: importuning them if they deſired to gaine this partie, as alſo a leading party to the whole Kingdome, to ſend a conſiderable ſtrength of Horſe; and if the forces ſaide to be intended, had come to him, when fifteene thouſand appeared in Armes before *Hereford*, and of them ſixe thouſand Muſqueteers, and ſome well mounted, he had gained a full teſtimony of compliance with the Parliament, and drawne them with eaſe to aide him againſt Prince *Ruperts* Army, when they were in the moode, ſo farre incenſed and inraged. And to compleate the deſigne, a Recruite for the Regiments of Horſe was neceſſary, and that the Auxiliaries ſhould bring along their meanes of entertainment; for the ſending of ſtrength without money did more wound

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then heale us; for the Souldiers challenge their pay or plunder; And as it was hatefull to the Governour, ſo the State of the Countrey would not permit him to ſpend his time in gathering contribution. But for want of a juſt and due ſupply, theſe men were loſt to us and to themſelves alſo, concluding a peace with the Governour of *Hereford*, and obnoxious and open to the Kings Army.

Hereupon Colonell *Maſſie* marched from *Roſſe*, and paſſed the Seaverne towards *Berkely*, purpoſing to joyne with Sir *William Waller*, who was noyſed to be come into the Borders of this Countrey, when the day before ſome of the *Berkely* forces had iſſued out towards our Garriſon at *Slimbridge*: but ere they could retreate to the Caſtle, the Garriſon forces fell upon them, ſlewe twelve, wherof one Captain, an *Iriſh* Rebell, and took twenty five priſoners, whereof two were Captaines and one Leiutenant. The Governour with his party advanced thence towards *Chipping-Sodbury*, where Colonell *Strange* with a party of Horſe began to fortify: but upon the notice of our Advance retreated to *Berkely*.

No ſooner had the *Herefordſhire* men disbanded, and returned to their owne houſes, but Prince *Rupert* falls backe out of *Shropſhire*, and comes upon them with his whole Army. The noiſe of his Arrivall doth haſten the Governours returne to *Glouceſter*: who drew thence two hundred Horſe, and five hundred foote into the Borders of *Herefordſhire*, where many of the Countrey people reſorted unto him, ſome with fire weapons, ſome with others: but the want of ſtrength, eſpecially of Horſe, render'd him of little capacity to preſerve them. The people having good deſires, but daunted with the greatneſſe of the enemy, and the ſlenderneſſe of our forces, were wholly loſt. Sir *William Waller* was importuned to draw this way, or to ſend a ſtrong party which might prove of the greateſt advantage to the Kingdome, when the Princes deſigne was to lye on that Countrey to recruite his Army with men, horſes and money for the Spring action, and the approach of the Parliaments Army; and would not onely bring in the Countrey, and make them firme to their ſervice, but diſappoint if not deſtroy Prince *Ruperts* Army, at that time the greateſt in the Kingdome, being a confluence of the forces of Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Colonell *Gerard*, Lord *Haſtings*, Lord *Aſhly*, & Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. Theſe men beare

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all before them, take mens Perſons, ſpoyle their Eſtates, diſarme the Countrey, reape the benefit of the late inſurrection, and extract money by force and terrour from the poore people: whoſe deſtruction as well as their late riſing in Armes is wholly loſt to the Parliament, and ſerve onely to make up the enemies recruite. The Princes impreſſe men in great abundance in *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, *Worceſterſhire*, raiſe great ſummes of money, get good ſtore of Armes: neceſſity in part caſting them upon ſuch ways of violence; and coercive power. And though the preſt men were of ſuſpected fidelity, and leſſe value, and had often deceived them in the heate of battell: yet they conduced to the ſudden forming of an Army when the Kings Affaires grew deſperate, and thruſt in with the old Volunteers made up the bulke of a great Body. Thus both the ſtrength and the ruines of the Countrey are left to the enemy, when by the aide of twelve hundred Horſe in the beginning of this inſurrection, the hopes of the buſineſſe might without vanity promiſe the Parliament many thouſand fighting men of all ſorts beſides thoſe already in pay.

Sir *John Winter* the plague of the Forreſt once more importuned the releife of *Lidney* Houſe, and obtaines from the Prince about two thouſand Horſe, and fifteene hundred foot, who breake in to deſtroy the Countrey and diſarme the Inhabitants. The Governour with what ſtrength he can make marched to *Woſbury* and quartered within a mile and a halfe of the enemy, and gave order to the Guards that beſet *Lidney*, that the foote be drawne off to the Garriſon of *Naſt*, and *Highmeadow*, and the Horſe repaire to the Randevouze, which was done without loſſe, when the Forreſt was full of the enemy. He preſerved likewiſe the lower parts neere the river, but for want of horſe wherein the enemy did abound, could not without extreame hazard and loſſe advance to the further parts, where they kept their Randevouze, and which they laide waſt, plundering the houſes to the bare walls, driving all the cattell, ſiezing upon the perſons of men, and ſending them Captives to *Monmouth*, and *Chepſtow*, except ſuch as eſcaped to us by flight, (as many did with their Armes) and ſome few that ſaved themſelves in Woods and Minepitts. The enemy did not adventure into the lower and neerer places, where our foot lay ready and reſolved to undertake theirs if they came on. Our Neighbouring parts of *Hereford* and *Worceſterſhire*, runne the like fortune with theſe in the Forreſt, and looke blacke upon this Garriſon which was not able to preſerve them. The Kings forces returned the ſecond time into

the Forreſt; and tooke the gleanings of the former Harveſt: yet the neerer parts are ſtill prrſerved. The enemy raiſed themſelves to a great power, already reputed ſixe thouſand horſe and foote, and ſeeme to endeavour Northward, wherefore the Governour intending to helpe the Countrey, by driving up the Reare of their march, or to put in for any ſervice, advanced to *Lidbury* with foure hundred horſe and five hundred foot, his whole marching ſtrength, notwithſtanding the addition of two hundred and fifty Horſe from *Northampton* and *Warwicke*, and with this party attended the enemyes motion. Hither Prince *Rupert* advanced with the beſt part of his Army, of whoſe approach neither ſpye nor Scout from the Out-guards made the leaſt diſcovery, till they came within halfe a mile of the Towne, horſe and foote, to ſurprize or at leaſt to ſurround us. The Governour inſtantly commanded the Horſe to mount, and drew up the foote, though not in ſo good order as he might, by reaſon of the ſudden Alarme; and ſuſpecting what he afterwards founde, that the Prince would endeavour to compaſſe him in, he marched off the foot with all due ſpeed that the enemyes right or left wing might not get before us, which they endeavored by ſending one party to the Towns end to keep us in action there, whilſt two other parties fetched a compaſſe upon either hand. In the meane while he brought up thoſe few horſe, that were not upon the Out-guards to charge the enemy at their firſt entrance, and placed an Ambuſcado of twenty Muſqueteeres to make good the retreate. But the buſineſſe was acted ſo, that the Governour in perſon with the Field Officers and Captaines were enforced to entertaine the enemy with ſeverall charges, and beare their brunt alone, till the foote had ridde ſome ground before them. In this part of the skirmiſh their loſſe was the greateſt for number, of ours only Major *Backehouſe* mortally wounded, the Governour, whom the Prince aimed to charge, had his horſe wounded under him by two ſeveroll ſhots. Our men drew off as was meete, & made good the retreat three or foure miles to the enemyes loſſe, till they came up to a place of ſhelter, when haſting to get before the right wing of the enemyes horſe, they were put into ſome confuſion. And the Horſe having no great deſire to fight, neglected the advantage of the place, to ſtop the purſuit though the Governour endeavoured what he could to engage them. That the enemy fell in among the Reare Guard of the foote, where he loſt neare two hundred men taken priſoners: many Country men being taken in to make up the number. This buſineſſe coſt them

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the lives of ſome gallant Officers, and the Prince miſſed his aime of ſurprizing Colonell *Maſſye*, but the Governour ſuppoſed the ſtay of the Princes march an advantage to the Service.

Nevertheleſſe the Army continued ſome dayes after, betweene *Hereford* and *Worceſter* recruiting dayly, and ſeeme to put much confidence in the Country, whom they cauſe, not onely to abjure the Parliament, but binde over to themſelves by ſolemne oath, ſwearing in the preſence of God; That they beleeve no power of Pope or Parliament can depoſe the King, and abſolve them from their naturall obedience to his Royall Perſon and Succeſſors, that the two Houſes of Parliament without the Kings conſent, have no power to make Lawes, or to binde or oblige the ſubjects by their Ordinances, that they beleeve the Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Mancheſter*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfaxe*, Sir *William Waller*, Colonell *Maſſie*, together with all ſuch as have already, or ſhall hereafter take up Armes by Authority, or commiſſion from the members of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, pretending to fight for King and Parliament, doe thereby become actuall Rebells, and as ſuch ought with all their adherents and partakers, to be preſented and brought to condigne puniſhment: that they will never beare Armes in their quarrell, but will, if they be thereto called, aſſiſt their Soveraine and his Armies in the defence of his Royall Perſon, Crowne, and Dignity, againſt all contrary forces to the utmoſt of their skill and power, and with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; that they will not diſcover the ſecreſies of his Majeſties Army unto the Rebells, nor hold any correſpondence with them; and all deſignes of theirs againſt the Kings Army, for the ſurprizing or delivering up of the Cities of *Hereford* or *Worceſter*, or any other of his Majeſties Forts, they ſhall truly diſcover to thoſe whom it ſhall concern, ſo ſoone as it comes to their knowledge. That his Majeſties taking up Armes for the cauſes by himſelfe ſo often declared in Print is juſtly neceſſary. That they ſhall endeavour all they can to hinder popular tumults, riſings, randevouzes, meetings, confederacies, and aſſociations of the people, townes, hundreds, and countries, which are not warranted to aſſemble by his Majeſties expreſſe commiſſion, or by power derived from him by vertue of his Commiſſions, and in the ſenſe he meanes it, and that they deteſt from their heart that ſeditious and traiterous late invented nationall covenant, and proteſt never to take it. All theſe particulars they vow and proteſt ſincerely to obſolve without Equivocation or mentall Reſervation. This Pretesta-

tion was ſtrictly injoyned by the Princes, to be taken by all without exception, in the Counties of *Monmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknocke*, *Radnor*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*. Nevertheleſſe this conſtained act could not knit the hearts of a male-contented Country to the love of that ſide, nor could the State permit the enemies exaction and violence by this vow eternally to binde up the people from well-doing.

The Princes Army is the maine reſt of the Kings Affaires which they ſtrengthen daily by impreſſing the Countrey, taking in leſſer Brigades, and draining the Garriſons, and a part of *Gorings* Army paſſed over the Seaverne from *Briſtoll* into *Wales*, and ſo to *Rupert* at *Hereford*. After a little ſtay to perfect the recruite the enemy drew thence, the Infantery and Artillery lay betweene *Worceſter* and *Beaudly* commanded by Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, whileſt *Rupert* and *Maurice* with the horſe and ſome ſelect foote fetch off the King from *Oxford*, aſſiſted alſo with *Gorings* Horſe and Dragoones, who left his Majeſty at *Stow* and marched backe over the hills into the Weſt through our Borders.

The Governour received another dropping by the addition of two Troops from *Newport-Pagnell*, the Auxiliaryes were in all three hundred and forty: his owne ſo few, weake, and ill armed, that he could ſcarce muſter a hundred fighting Horſe: and thoſe much diſcontented, obſerving the reſt in good equipage, but themſelves in the conſtant action of Souldiers naked and miſerable. Theſe are imployed in attending the enemyes march, to preſerve the Countrey what they may; yet they diſturbe it with frequent Alarmes, and ſometims beate up the leſſer partyes, and upon ſundry attempts tooke one Colonell, divers Captaines, with inferiour Officers and ſouldiers.

Sir *John Winter* deſpairing of longer ſubſiſtance and livelyhoode, deſerted and fired his houſe at *Lidney*, having firſt ſpoyled the Forreſt and ſo before hand with revenge. By this time the Counties round about are cleared of the Kings Army, and Colonell *Maſſie* received a larger ſupply of Horſe from the remainder of Colonell *Ber* and *D'albeirs* Regiments commanded by Major *Buller*: and thereby inabled to undertake ſome important Service. *Eveſham* was beheld as the moſt opportune and of greateſt concernment in diſtreſſing *Worceſter*, and eſtabliſhing the Committee by Order of Parliament for that County. Wherefore the Governour drew before it with five hundred foote from *Glouceſter*, and two hundred from *Warwicke*, who belonged to the *Worceſter* Committee, with a ſtrong able Brigade of Horſe, and in the name of the King and Parliament ſummoned Colonell

nell *Robert Legge* Governour of the towne, to make a ſpeedy ſurrender of the Garriſon with all Perſons, Armes, Ammunition and Proviſion, which he there held againſt the juſtice of them both, or upon refuſall to expect ſuch juſtice as fire and ſword would inflict. And to this he expected a ſpeedy anſwer. Colonell *Legge* ſent backe the Summons with this anſwer. You are hereby anſwered in the name of his Majeſty, that this garriſon which I am intruſted to keep, I will defend ſo long as I can with the men armes and ammunition therein, being nothing terrified by your ſummons. I perceave you are a ſtranger to our ſtrength and reſolution, further treaties will be troubleſome.

Upon this returne the Governour prepared the deſigne, and ordered to each Officer his charge in the ſtorme. The aſſault was to be made on each part of the towne. The ſide that lookes towards *Worceſter* was to be ſtormed in five places with one place at the bridge on the other ſide of the river. The commanded parties of the foote were lead on by the ſeverall Captaines, and ſeconded by the Horſe devided into three Bodies. After the diſpoſition of the deſigne, and the night ſpent in Alarmes, the Signall was given a little after breake of day, when both horſe and foote fell on together with life and heate in a furious aſſault, broke up the Palliſadoes, filled the grafts with faggots, and other preparations, made ſundry paſſages, recovered the workes, and ſtood firme on the Parapet, whileſt the Muſqueteers from within played furiouſly. The foot having recovered the ſhelter of the ditch beate off the enemy, got up by ſcaling ladders, ſtood on the breaſt workes, and ſome entred but were againe driven up by the Horſe to the top of the workes, where they ſtood firme and fired, but after a while ready to be beaten off by the violent charge of the enemies horſe, till a party of our horſe on that ſide drawing up cloſe, and having a ſmall breach made for their entrance, fell in and beate off the enemy from that bulwarke; whileſt another party made an entrance neare the Bridge. And now they tumble over the works on all ſides: and charge up both horſe and foote with equall gallantry, bore downe the enemy and maſtered the Garriſon. The conflict was hot and difficult for almoſt an houre, and maintained by the enemy with much reſolution. The lives of the Officers and Souldiers were wonderfully preſerved in that violent ſtorme, when each man was expoſed to the hazard of the moſt daring enemy. Of the Officers two onely wounded, and ten private ſouldiers ſlaine, and twelve of the enemy. The priſoners taken in the garriſon were five hundred and fifty on the liſt, of whom two Colonells one Major, thirteene Captaines, with other Officers and Gentlemen reformadoes to

the number of seventy. Many Gentlemen and Officers that charged with the Governour, acted their parts with courage, and spurd on the valour of the souldiers. The reserve of foot devided into three bodies, to second the assaylants performed as became resolved men, and the whole action was compleate according to the Idea & Platforme of the designe. The Evening before to keep off an approaching enemy from *Worcester*, about a hundred horse were drawne out, and kept guard five miles from *Evesham*, faced a party of horse from *Worcester*, whose hasty and distracted retreat gave such an alarme to the whole City, that they fired foure peece of Ordnance before day, and alarmed the Countrey round about, when the Conquest was already secured, and the Parliament Masters of *Evesham*.

This performance was the concluding honour of Colonell *Massies* government, after his remove from the present command was resolved by both Houses of Parliament, when the desires of promoving the publike service made him to hazard the fame of his former atchievements by the doubtfull issue of the last action.

Some dayes before hee had an honourable invitation from the Westerne Gentlemen, and the same day that he entred *Evesham*, received a Commission from the Lords and Commons to leade an Army in the West: The Parliaments command found the Governour absolutely free in affection and choice, willing to comply with their pleasures, neither longing to stay, nor eager of a change, but in any place ready to spend his blood in the Kingdomes Cause, if he might not spend it in vaine. Nevertheless the City and County of *Glouceſter* did much resent it, and something repine that their Governour should be snatched from such a people as had done much, and suffered much in their fidelity and resolution without president (considering the many assaults) that had sacrificed their lives and fortunes in preserving this City and the Kingdome therein, that had borne so much in the firing of the Suburbs, in the burning of many houses neere the towne, some by the Enemies malice, and some by themselves for safety, and the pressures of the Country under both Armies. They cast up the consequence and concernment of the place, being the Center, Garden and Granary of the Kingdome, the Blocke-house to the river of *Severne*, and a barre to all passages betweene *Worceſter*, *Briſtoll*, and the Sea, the stop of entercourse betweene *Oxford* and *Wales*, the Key to open the passage upon the *Welsh* and their Frontiers, and the locke and barre to keepe out their incursions: the onely refuge and safety for the Parliament party and friends in that part of the Kingdome,

Kingdome, and the Enemies ſole hinderance from the command of the whole Weſt. Beſides, this they had ſtrong defires of retaining their Governour having ſo long experience of his judgement to foreſee dangers, and care to prevent them, of his readineſſe to iſſue out for offence and defence upon each incurſion, of his indefatigable induſtry in taking the advantage of all oportunities to weaken rhe Enemy, and happy ſucceſſe in all enterprizes, of his diſpoſition and comportment, by which he cheriſhed the well-affected, ratisfied and confirmed the indifferent, reduced the very malignant: and by himſelfe engaged the Country to armes, and governed the ſouldiers from mutiny, rapine, and plunder, or other violence in the Garriſon or Country. To all which they added an unavoidable prejudice againſt any ſtranger, though in himſelfe able and faithfull, conſidering the many by-paſt plots, and the Enemies implacable malice who breath out threatnings daily. Such was the ſenſe of the people univerſally. And the Major and Aldermen with the whole City *Nemnie Contradicente* did ſo farre honour themſelves in vindicating Colonell *Maſſie*, as to petition both Houſes of Parliament for his continuance in the Government, repreſenting in expreſſe termes hls noble diſpoſition, conſtant and unwearied paines, bleſt by God with extraordinary ſucceſſe, and his maine influence on the hearts of the people in generall, moſt of them being by him ingaged in armes for the Parlinment, and upon the whole ſo ldiery, who were kept together to ſerve in this Countrie, chiefely by the love and reſpect they beare to him. And this they acknowledged not with an intention of preſcribing rules to the State, but out of their care and zeale to the common Cauſe. They likewiſe importuned the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of *London*, upon the mutuall bonds of former engagement, in defending and raiſing the late Siege of *Glouceſter*, to repreſent unto the Parliament the ſenſe of their feares, and the Countries diſtraction at the removall of Colonell *Maſſie*: complaining of the ſiniſter ends of ſome few perſons who brought in a croſſe Petition, with Articles in the name of the County of *Glouceſter*, which no part of the County did ever acknowledge, and of which no corner thereof was conſcious.

The Houſe of Commons would not accept the charge againſt Colonell *Maſſie*, and that they might deale in the buſineſſe without partiality, refuſed alſo the Countries Petition. Nevertheleſſe the Speaker was directed in the name of the Houſe, by way of anſwer to their requeſts, to let them know, that they were very ſenſible of the dangers that might attend an alteration in that kinde, but that the Governour provided to

ſucceed

ſucceed might ſpeedily give ſuch aſſurance againſt ſuch dangers, that there will be no cauſe for them to continue, much leſſe to encreaſe their feares. That the Houſe was confident that their conſtant readineſſe to comply with the publike, would alſo in this particular of Colonell *Maſſies* removall make them reſt content in the reſolution of the Parliament in that matter. Though *Glouceſter* be a place they prize, and care for as much as any in the Kingdome, yet for the preſent it was thought of greater neceſſitie to imploy him in that command of the Weſterne Forces and they cannot doubt of the concurrence and ſubmiſſion of thoſe well-affected parts in whatſoever is judged to be of publike advantage.

Hereupon it was ordered the third of *June*, 1645 by the Lords and Commons, that Maſter *Luke Nurſe* Major of *Glouceſter*, Alderman *Singleton*, and Colonell *Blunt*, or any two of them ſhall have the command of the Garriſon of *Glouceſter*, and of the Forces and Garriſon in *Glouceſterſhire*, in as ample manner as Colonell *Maſſie* had till the appointed Governour come downe to his charge there, or the Houſes take other order.

Colonell *Maſſie* in the meane while labours to diſingage the affections of the Countrey, and to take off diſcontents and mutiny, and beſeeches the Parliament to ſend downe the ſucceeding Governour that he might ſeeke to intereſt him in the hearts of the people, whom he never deſired to indeare unto himſelfe, but to thoſe Maſters whom he ſerved, which was a full teſtimony of a true Servant to the State, upon the ſole termes of Conſcience and Honour.

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